

# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

of the Protestant Episcopal Church



DECEMBER, 1956



## EDITORIALS

•  
"WALKING WITH GOD": A DEVOTIONAL MISCELLANY FROM THE UNPUBLISHED PAPERS OF BISHOP CHARLES HENRY BRENT (1862-1929)

*Edited by Frederick Ward Kates*

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PROSPECTUS FOR A CHRISTIAN CONSIDERATION OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

*By George V. Taylor*

•  
BISHOP FREDERIC DAN HUNTINGTON, AS I KNEW HIM

*By A. L. Bryon-Curtiss*

•  
THE REVEREND EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY: HIS IDEAS AND INFLUENCE

*By Allen J. Going*

•  
REVIEWS: I. American Church History and Biography.

II. English and General Church History.

III. Theology and Philosophy.

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*Index to Volume XXV (1956)*

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# HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

## of the Protestant Episcopal Church



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New Brunswick, New Jersey

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THE PROTESTANT  
EPISCOPAL CHURCH

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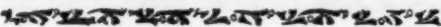
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## Editorials

### THE PRESIDENT'S PRAYER

**A**lmighty God, as we stand here at this moment, my future associates in the executive branch of the Government join me in beseeching that Thou will make full and complete our dedication to the service of the people in this throng and their fellow citizens everywhere. 

**G**ive us, we pray, the power to discern clearly right from wrong and allow all our words and actions to be governed thereby and by the laws of this land.

**E**specially we pray that our concern shall be for all the people, regardless of station, race or calling. x May cooperation be permitted and be the mutual aim of those who, under the concept of our Constitution, hold to differing political x beliefs - so that all may work for the good of our beloved country and for Thy glory. **Amen**



At noon, on January 20, 1953, under a bright sunny sky, Dwight D. Eisenhower, having taken the oath of office as the thirty-fourth President of the United States, paused before beginning his inaugural address to offer "a little prayer of my own," composed that very morning amid the bustle of preparations for the day's ceremonies.

The short fervent prayer, of only 134 words, asked for the aid of Almighty God in the power to discern right from wrong, and for a dedication to service to promote and secure the peace and prosperity

of America. The prayer is a declaration of faith in God and confidence in mankind; it is an appeal for united action to achieve our common needs and aspirations for human dignity and freedom.

As this is written, it is not known whether President Eisenhower has been reelected or defeated. Whatever the outcome may be on that score, it is refreshing to have a President of the United States, on his inauguration, thus publicly invoke God's guidance and assistance. We could wish that all of his successors, whoever they may be, will follow his example in this regard.

WALTER H. STOWE.

## *In Memoriam*

ROBERT D. MIDDLETON

Priest and Scholar

June 19, 1884—September 14, 1956

LONGTIME readers of HISTORICAL MAGAZINE know how keenly interested the late Robert D. Middleton, vicar of St. Margaret's, Oxford, England, was in it and the American Church. He was virtually our English Associate Editor, and contributed many reviews to its columns. Under date of June 25th, we received the following letter from him:

Dear Dr. Stowe:

I am now writing you about a most uninteresting subject—myself. On February 13, 1955, I had an attack of thrombosis (heart) and was rushed off to the hospital where I was expected to die during the night. I recovered. On May 5, 1955, I had another attack and was rushed off again early in the morning. Then I began to make a good recovery. Last autumn it became clear to me that I ought to retire. This I could not do until I found some place to live in. I have now bought a tiny house in Southwell Notts, where I shall go in August. The doctor says I shall completely recover if I have a long rest. My address after August 15 will be St. Margaret's House, Southwell Notts.

A young friend of mine, Brian Taylor, M.A., Keble College (Oxford), a master at Spaulding Grammar School, Lincolnshire, a student at Bishops Hostel, Lincoln, and an ordinand who will, all being well, be ordained in Advent or soon after, is ready to take up my interests in the American Church. He will complete my little book of Historical Studies, and is willing to review books for HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, and to do all that I have tried to do. He is a young man of great intelligence and ability. If you will be so kind as to welcome him and to send him HISTORICAL MAGAZINE instead of to me, I shall be most grateful. He will be quite near me in Southwell.

Thank you for all your wonderful kindness to me for many years.

Yours very sincerely

R. D. MIDDLETON.

This letter proves, if any proof were necessary, how deep and genuine was Mr. Middleton's interest in the American Church in general and in HISTORICAL MAGAZINE in particular. He took time and effort to enlist a successor to "take up my interests in the American Church." When we received this letter, we not only answered it, but wrote Mr. Taylor, requesting him to send us some biographical data about Mr. Middleton, that we might "give him some flowers" while he was with us in the Church Militant. Under date of August 11th, Mr. Taylor responded with the desired information, but alas! Mr. Middleton was destined not to see and read out token of appreciation. On September 15th, Mr. Taylor wrote us the sad news:

This morning I heard that Mr. Middleton died early yesterday morning [September 14th], at his new home in Southwell. He had written a postcard to me the previous night, but died before it was posted. His housekeeper sent it with an extra message. Next week Mr. Middleton was to have given a course of Church History lectures at, I believe, a study school. He was as tireless in his pursuit of learning and imparting it as he was in his prayers and in the pastoral work of his parish. May he rest in peace!

Yours sincerely,

BRIAN TAYLOR.

The biographical facts of Mr. Middleton's life are as follows:

Casberd Exhibitioner of St. John's College, Oxford: B.A. (hons. Theol.), 1910; M.A., 1914; deacon, 1910; priest, 1911; assistant curate, Summertown (in N. Oxford), 1910-14; assistant curate, Watlington, Oxfordshire, 1914-15. Temp.

chap. Armed Forces, 1915-19 (mentioned in dispatches, 1918.)  
 Hon. C. F., 1921. Rector, Lower Hardres, with Nackington,  
 Kent, 1919-43. Lecturer, St. Augustine's College, Canterbury,  
 1935-43. Vicar, Milton-under-Wychwood, Oxfordshire, 1943-  
 45. Vicar, St. Margaret's, Oxford, 1945-56, and rector of  
 Wytham, Berkshire (a very small parish north of Oxford),  
 1950-55.

His publications, excluding a very large number of articles, were:

*The Church Among Men* (1923).  
*Keble, Froude, and Newman* (1933).  
*Magdalen Studies*, (1936).  
*Dr. Routh* (1938).  
*Stewards of the Mysteries of God* (1945).  
*Newman and Bloxham, An Oxford Friendship* (1947).  
*Newman at Oxford—His Religious Development* (1950).

No appraisal of Mr. Middleton's life is more apt than that given  
 above by Mr. Taylor:

He was as tireless in his pursuit of learning and imparting it  
 as he was in his prayers and in the pastoral work of his parish.

No priest could wish for a better epitaph than that!

WALTER H. STOWE.

## Biographical Note Concerning Miss Hillman

**I**N the September issue, we carried an editorial, "Miss Hillman's  
 Record of Distinguished Service." Mr. Gordon Fearey, secretary  
 of The Church Pension Fund, has sent us the following biographical  
 note:

Marjorie Hillman came to The Church Pension Fund in  
 February 1917 as the campaign for the Five Million Dollar  
 Initial Reserve Fund was being successfully completed and just  
 before the Fund received its first pension assessment and paid  
 its first pension benefit. She had much to do with setting up  
 the system for collecting assessments, and early became the de-  
 partment head. Over these years Sixty-Million Dollars has  
 been collected under her supervision from the parishes. Since  
 1935 she has been assistant secretary of the Fund. In recent  
 years she has also been responsible for the work of the Fund  
 as Recorder of General Convention and in editing *The Clerical  
 Directory*.

## How Mrs. Voorhees Made Scrapbooks of the General Convention

ANYONE who read the editorial in the September number, "Mrs. Voorhees' Scrapbooks of the General Convention," must still be mystified just how she did it! The following paragraph is, we think, clear enough, but the type was somehow mixed up in the process of printing:

Future historians of the General Convention, beginning with that of 1937, will have reason to be grateful to Dorothy H. (Mrs. Ralph) Voorhees, parish secretary of Christ Church, New Brunswick, New Jersey, for the scrapbooks of the General Convention which she has prepared. The rector of the parish, as a deputy to the Convention, always subscribed to the local newspapers during the session in Mrs. Voorhees' name. She cut out every item in each issue dealing with the Convention, and pasted it in a scrapbook. The usefulness of this to the historian, for purposes of recapturing the tone of the Convention judged by newspaper impressions, is patent.

WALTER H. STOWE.





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NEW YORK



**CHARLES HENRY BRENT**

[April 2, 1862—March 27, 1929]

**First Missionary Bishop of the Philippines**  
1901 - 1918

**Chief of Chaplains, American Expeditionary Force**  
1917 - 1919

**Fourth Bishop of Western New York**  
1918 - 1929

**President, First World Conference on  
Faith and Order, 1937**  
Lausanne, Switzerland

# "Walking With God"

A Devotional Miscellany from the Unpublished Personal Papers

of

**Bishop Charles Henry Brent**  
(1862-1929)

Edited by

**Frederick Ward Kates**

*Rector, St. Paul's Parish,  
Baltimore, Maryland*

## C O N T E N T S

Editor's Note

Dedication

Epitome of the Life of

Charles Henry Brent

I. Excerpts

II. A Great Man's Friends

III. Personalia

IV. Meditations

1. God's Love

2. Joy

3. Night Garlands

4. Preparation for Holy Communion

5. The Ten Commandments

Select Bibliography

## Editor's Note



HE following excerpts are all transcribed from letters, diaries, journals, and personal notebooks of Bishop Brent. They are dated where possible, and only two or three of them have appeared in print hitherto. The five meditations were found in the bishop's papers in manuscript form. The earliest excerpt quoted is dated 20 September 1902, and the last was written in London three days before his death in Lausanne on 27 March 1929.

In homage and tribute to Bishop Brent, as a means of gaining further insight into the personality of this noble disciple and servant of the universal Church, and as material for reflection and meditation, these random thoughts of a mighty man of God, friend of humanity, and apostle of Christian unity, are published.

Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* (1651) remarked, "The secret thoughts of a man run over all things, holy, profane, clean, obscene, grave and light, without shame or blame." Remembering this, the editor invites, not exclusively but especially, readers who will regard with sympathy and love these highly personal and private jottings of the saintly Christian spirit, who will always be numbered among the mighty builders of the Kingdom of God in our time.

For further reading, a Select Bibliography is appended to this *Miscellany*.

—F. W. K.

*St. Paul's Rectory,  
Baltimore, Maryland.  
Trinity, A. D. 1956*

**In Affectionate Tribute**

**to**

**ALEXANDER CLINTON ZABRISKIE**

**1898—1956**

**Admirer, Friend and Biographer**

**of**

**CHARLES HENRY BRENT**

## Epitome of the Life of Charles Henry Brent

- 1862 Born April 2nd, New Castle, Ontario, Canada, where his father was Anglican Rector for 42 years.
- 1886 Ordained deacon by the Bishop of Toronto; priest, by same bishop, 1887.
- 1888-1891 With Cowley Fathers in Boston, Massachusetts.
- 1891-1901 Associate Rector, St. Stephen's Church, Boston.
- 1901-1918 First Missionary Bishop of the Philippine Islands.
- 1909 President, First International Opium Conference, Shanghai.
- 1910 Edinburgh International Missionary Conference where he conceived idea of a world conference on Faith and Order.
- 1911 President, Second International Opium Conference, The Hague.
- 1917-1919 Chief-of-Chaplains, American Expeditionary Force.
- 1918-1929 Fourth Bishop of Western New York.
- 1920 Chairman of Geneva, Switzerland, meeting to plan a world conference on Faith and Order.
- 1924 Last attendance at International Narcotics Conference.
- 1925 Delegate to Universal Christian Conference on Life and Work, Stockholm.
- 1927 President, First World Conference on Faith and Order, Lausanne, Switzerland.
- 1929 Died, March 27th, at Lausanne, Switzerland.

### *Degrees and Decorations*

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY: University of Toronto; King's College, Nova Scotia; Harvard University; Yale University; Glasgow University; Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut.

DOCTOR OF SACRED THEOLOGY: Columbia University.

DOCTOR OF LAWS: University of Rochester; Union College; University of Toronto; New York University.

Companion of the Order of Leopold (Belgium); Officer of Legion of Honor (France);

Companion of the Order of the Bath (Great Britain); Distinguished Service Medal (United States).

## WALKING WITH GOD

The normal life of man is walking with God, seeing God, hearing God's voice.

The beauty of life is unawakened until the soul walks with God.

—Good Friday, 1925.

## I. Excerpts

### ACHIEVEMENT

Achievement is a cause for gladness and exultation. But its finest function for living men is as a starting-point for new endeavor.

—1918 Notebook.

### ADVENTURE

The spirit of adventure is second only to the love of liberty. We must be moving into the unknown.

—1918 Notebook.

To the brave, vastness is not a difficulty: rather is it an opportunity. Without vastness there is no inspiration, for vastness is the soul of inspiration. Nor is difficulty a deterrent: it is a stimulus. Without difficulty there is no adventure, for difficulty is the soul of adventure. And without adventure God becomes a stagnant pool and man a statue of clay.

—Sermon, Epiphany I, 1919.

### ADVERSITY

Adversity, in one form or another, is bound to be the portion of those who set their lives in the direction of honor, faithfulness, and integrity. The function of adversity is not to break our spirit but to bend our wills straight. He who does his best work under the least favorable conditions is a conqueror after the pattern of Christ, who not only scorned the aid of inferior things but used misunderstanding, injustice, and hatred as the rungs of a ladder on which to climb our way to God.

—Letter.

### CHILDREN

There is nothing that refreshes like the affection and confidence of a little child—of such is the Kingdom of Heaven.

—1 May 1916.

Whatever happens, God's imperishable love stands. It is the one thing which baffles all human inquiry—why children should be called upon to suffer. The single truth which stands like a rock is that God's beneficent hands are busy to defeat the evil and to weave the dark strands of pain into a robe of glory.

—Letter to parents of a critically ill child.

The beauty and fragrance of the child are the joy of my life, and the world is the poorer when a little one dies. The pain and suffering



of the separation is too deep for words. I well recall the death of a dear wee sister, how as I sped for the doctor I poured out all my boyish sins and promised to be better if He would but spare her, not realizing that our grief is His grief, and that "He does not willing afflict or grieve the children of men." However dim our understanding may be, of one thing we are sure—that when a child goes it is not a visitation of God. It is something which for the moment thwarts Him but which in the end He will triumph over in and for us. I found a book after Mother's death called "Flowers Gathered" with the names of two baby brothers, one of whom I never saw and the other I only just remember, written on the fly-leaf. The thought that just came to me was that these children had gone from love to love—the love of parents to the infinite love of God which will hold them in safe keeping until we too are folded in His embrace in companionship with them.

—*Letter to parents of a deceased child.*

#### THE CHURCH

The Church's duty is always to be at war with the forces of evil.

—*Wartime Notebook.*

Our business as the Christian Church today is not so much to wave our credentials in the air as to exhibit our character. It was not the violent protestations of Catholicity of the early Christians that gave them their extraordinary influence. It was the preaching of their loyal lives, their personal and corporate devotion to Christ. So will it be now. The Church that preaches most constantly and consistently by devotion in thought and activity to Christ will declare its Catholicity by its life.

—*2 September 1923.*

The Church's chief enemy is fear. We are too desperately afraid to make ventures lest we should soil our clothes or bruise our feet.

—*6 July 1925.*

The unprogressive church, the church that rests its eyes exclusively on the past, eventually becomes dead. The major part of knowledge and of life lies in the unexplored tomorrow. There is more to be known of God in Christ than what we have thus far discovered. The future is vaster far than the past. The truth is greater than its definitions.

—*3 July 1927.*

No one church can show by its fruits that it is superior in spiritual power to its neighbors. By its fruits and only by its fruits can a church

justify its claim. To claim to be the only church or a superior church and not have a witness to the claim in the superiority in love, in character, and spiritual wisdom, of its members is unconvincing, arrogant, and idle.

—14 May 1928.

#### COURAGE

No one can have courage but he who is tempted to fear.

—*Sermon, Passion Sunday, 1925.*

#### DAILY DEVOTIONAL EFFORT

The daily food and the daily endeavor will do much more to bring us near to God than any elaborate system.

—20 September 1902.

In my devotional life I must give myself to praise—"in frost and cold," when God's face seems (or is, for I do despite to the Spirit of God) averted. If one sees that one kind of devotion is especially needed, he must give himself to it.

—21 September 1902.

God asks us for a day-long effort—"keep us this day without sin." My main motive in life must be (1) to seek, (2) to do, God's will. Some things are obvious. Implicit obedience to them clears the eye to see deeper duties, refinements of duty. (1) The day must be begun early, (2) with prayer leading to action. Guarded lips, yes, but lips given to God to move in obedience to His order, to season speech with salt, not to speak. A disciplined tongue. Senses filled with spiritual wealth—no room left in them for unworthy and self-indulgent passions.

—20 September 1902.

I would commit my way unto the Lord. From day to day I would seek His face.

—31 December 1906.

The real difficulty in life is to keep the spirit active in its upward efforts. The daily cultivation of the interior virtues, so attractive in contemplation, calls for one's best endeavor and constant vigilance.

—16 May 1923.

#### DEATH

Death is more the beginning of victory than the triumph of tragedy. The highest beauty and the supreme power is bound up with the way men meet death and its thrusts.

—21 January 1923.

Why should we take death so solemnly, if, as we believe it, it is but entrance into life fuller, and more joyous, and undying? I have always said that which we fear chiefly is dying, not death.

—*Letter.*

Death is not a mere getting through. It is a going on.

—*Letter.*

We face the stern realities of mortality without dismay after seeing in the Risen Christ whither they lead.

—*Letter.*

You cannot consider immortality apart from bereavement. The Resurrection stands for renewed fellowship. The old is taken up just where it ceased.

—*Letter.*

The old "crown and harp" idea of Heaven has gone by the board for good. My most satisfying conclusion is that immortality perpetuates in a supreme degree and perfect manner the twofold fellowship begun here, that divine and human ties are *au fond* imperishable, and that the goal is the consummation of such ties with perfect perspective.

—*Letter.*

#### DUTY

One must take first the obvious duties and embrace them: only thus can he discern the refinements and higher levels of nobility and truth.

—27 August 1903.

The burden of administrative work is less galling perhaps than it used to be, but I am irked by it so that it is hard for me to do it well. Just because it is distasteful it is one's duty to do it up to the top notch.

—9 March 1923.

To live for duty is greater than to die for duty.

—*Memorial Day, 1927.*

#### THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

The Episcopal Church has a peculiar responsibility toward these churches which were driven from its communion by its lack of spirituality, Erastianism, and intolerance. That these churches have wandered far from the fold whence they came deepens rather than lessens our obligation to them. The great Methodist Church is the legitimate child of the Church of England. Action and reaction are equal and opposite. Had the Church of England done its duty there would have

been no Methodists and the spiritual life of that great church would have been conserved in the Church of England to its benefit and edification. So is it with the Congregationalists and other religious groups who were exiled overseas by intolerance and persecution. We must recognize this and act accordingly.

—May 1928.

#### FAITH

We cling to what we know and have experienced. That is conservatism and demands respect. But we must launch out into the unwonted and the unachieved. That is the life of faith. Faith is exploration and experimentation in the realm of the ideal and the unseen.

—18 February 1919.

Faith asks but it also receives. Faith seeks but it also finds. Faith knocks but it also enters. The life of Faith is a life of eager seeking for what we lack in love's program, of prompt acceptance of that for which we ask, of strong, tireless seeking for that which we accept, and of adventurous entering the door of opportunity at which we knock.

—3 September 1923.

The question of a *living* faith is personal. Faith must bring life to mind, soul, and body. Faith appropriates God's vitality for God's purposes. When it does not triumph *over*, it triumphs *in*, sickness, sorrow, and death. Faith should lead to joyousness and freedom. Insofar as we commit our way to God and lean on Him, we can afford to be glad and blithe and adventurous. Why this heaviness and introspection and apprehension? O put thy trust in God, for I shall yet praise Him who is the health of countenance, and my God.

—22 March 1924.

Living faith is a product of living love.

—1927.

Religious Education is education in faith.

—3 May 1927.

#### FREEDOM

It is freedom which constitutes God's greatest gift to man. Freedom consists in fellowship, not isolation.

—1918 Notebook.

Freedom comes through keeping Christ's Word and by joining forces with Him. Freedom is fearlessness. The enemy of freedom is sin—and

the only enemy. The bondservant of Christ alone can know the glorious liberty of the child of God.

—*Passion Sunday, 1925.*

#### GLORY IN NATURE

Glory follows glory in nature. Here we are in the glory of the Spring. The leaping-forth of life from seeming death is the perpetual vision in countryside and garden and orchard. Even the pock-marked Vimy Ridge joins in the triumph of life and becomes rose and golden with the glow of flowers. It makes one's heart beat faster to think of the coming glory of the full-blown Summer that hastens on the heels of Spring. The laugh and games of happy children, the fragrance of berries, the lilt and gaiety of fledgelings skimming by, the contentment of the sunny days or gentle rains—these are a separate glory. Then comes the Fall with its own delights of yellow grain, and falling leaf, and purple mists. Then further still is the crisp air with its dancing flakes of white, the frosted pane, the restful silence of a sleeping nature.

—*1918 Notebook.*

#### God

God Himself lives by faith, hope and love. He preaches only what He practices.

—*7 July 1923.*

#### GOD'S ACTIVITY

What is God doing at times when we are not giving Him attention? He is brooding over and planning for us. It is as the analogy of an earthly father indicates—His love is over us, working, planning, shaping events for us, as we the children go heedless on our way in school and and play.

—*23 September 1925.*

#### GOD OUR ALLY

God is our ally only so far as we are His. "Co-workers with God" is a grand and venerable phrase. But we can be His allies only so far as we identify our wills with His purpose. We are under Him as Supreme Commander. For war or for peace it is His discernible will that is our business wherever it may lead.

—*1918 Notebook.*

#### GOD THE CREATOR

Whether in the case of God or in that of man, creation is not making something out of nothing. It is rather the establishment of equilibrium,

the harmonizing and stabilizing of that which already is. That is certainly so, if our observation of history reveals the truth. It is so in the discouraging, inspiring undertaking to which this new year introduces us—the reaching of a righteous and lasting peace. It is the crowning effort of the ages. We call it reconstruction. It is really re-creation. Fortunately, the task is not all ours. The master-worker is always God. He is the supreme agent in the remolding of life and the creation of order. He is working in and through us—also, and chiefly, beyond us. It is only where God's activities end that man's begin. All we have to do is that which He cannot do without us—the children's share of their Father's work. As He shares with us His talk, so He shares with us His purpose, His final goal. There is such a thing as knowing His will. And in His will, the knowledge of it and the doing of it, is our peace.

—12 January 1919.

#### GOD MAKING THINGS BETTER

We may not rest in the old. God does not. All things are pronounced good, but God sets to work to make them better, not thwarted by human delinquency that makes them worse.

—1925.

As fast as human madness breaks God's arrangements, He establishes new ones.

—Good Friday, 1925.

#### GOD'S MAJESTY

The whole meaning of life is found in the Majesty and Beauty of God.

—Notebook.

God's glory is partly in His people—for whom He lives and whom He loves.

—Notebook.

What is the majesty of God? If we judge by our Lord's life and example, it consists in the lowly service of men. This is fixed, so that when we creep wearily through the last shadows, the dawn that will break will be the dawn of the Majesty of God's lowliness. With gentle hand, while we are still afar off, He will come to us and lift up our bowed heads so that we can look into His eyes of unfathomable love. He will bathe with His own hands our feet, blistered and soiled with earth's journey. He will salve the wounds of our self-will by ministering to us with healing touch. His kindness and gentleness and self-forgetfulness will constitute His sternest rebuke. He will lead us to those

whom consciously or unconsciously we have hurt or neglected in our mortality, that we may do to them what He is doing for us—help them, heal them, comfort them, and be reconciled to them and they to us.

—10 April 1923.

God's almightiness is a climax, not a beginning. Because He is love, holiness, beauty, wisdom, therefor, He is Almighty.

—7 July 1923.

#### GOD NEVER ALONE

Polytheistic ideas of God find their fulfillment in the vision of God in the throng of angelic beings and saints. God is never alone. His love does not permit alone-ness. I do not invoke saints, and so forth, for when I address God I do it in their presence. Otherwise I would practice invocation on the chance of being heard. If others are impelled to do so, it is better thus than that they should address God as a lonely unit.

—15 May 1916.

#### GOD'S PATIENCE

Only a God of love could stand such a world as this and such people as we! His patience has as part of it His unruffled kindliness, His considerateness, His gentleness and chivalry, His courtesy. Our minds ascribe too many frowns and censures to Him who is so kind, so forbearing, so self-forgetful. How much of a slander this is!

—1 March 1925.

#### GOD'S SIMPLICITY

God is simple before He is complex. Such complexity as there is in Him is the complexity of simplicity. God is the simplest of all simple beings. This is the meaning of His Unity, of His Holiness, and of His Power. It is because His simpleness is basic that we must become as little children to get near Him.

—1918 Notebook.

The solution of life's complexity is found in the simplicity of God.

—Sermon, Lent IV, 1918.

#### GOD THE SIN-BEARER

God is the Sin-Bearer in Jesus Christ. It must be so. He is responsible for man and all man's actions. He accepts the responsibility even to the weight of man's sins. Though He gave power of choice, He assumes the pain resulting from poor or perverted choice. We who sin add to His staggering load by our wrongdoing. But He is not only the bearer but also He Who taketh away what He bears. He relieves us



of all further responsibility for evil choice when we begin to choose well. He patiently sets in order what we mis-arrange. What to us is temporal pain to Him is eternal pain. When we let Him take away our sins from us, they cease to be a pain to Him.

—1918 Notebook.

#### GOD AND SUFFERING

Mankind has always and loyally spent its best efforts on the vindication of God's justice and love. This in the face of much that on the surface militates against His character. Why should man be so careful of God's good character? If He is shrouded in the mysterious and terrible, why should man take all the blame on himself? Such is the case. If God had not, in the Incarnation, vindicated Himself, all man's arguments and justifying of God's thought and ways would have been of no avail.

—1916.

This morning—said sadly: "Another day!" God is remorseless in His exaction of law, the law of suffering. We could easily bring the end so longed for, but we may not. Unless He Himself suffered in and with every sufferer, even more deeply than they, suffering would be a problem devastating to faith.

—3 January 1923.

It is strengthening to know that no phase of suffering is outside of God's personal experience.

—Good Friday, 1925.

God allows only His best soldiers in the hardest places.

—Notebook.

God is expert in reconstructing shattered worlds, and He does it with wondrous skill and beauty. Nor is the darkest day beyond the powerful rays of His light and radiance.

—Notebook.

#### HEALTH

That health's chief home is in the higher part of human life, none can doubt. It floods the lower. Part of its business is to control and unify the whole personality. The mind and imagination which are trained to operate in terms of health let loose an influence on self and society which is beyond calculation. Health begins with God's forgiveness, sought, bestowed, accepted.

—24 September 1923.



Reconciliation with God is always the first necessity in sickness.

—*Ibid.*

# HISTORY

History is the just guardian of all that is entrusted to its care. In the end its praise and blame is as accurate as anything human can be. It is necessary, of course, that we should reckon with its censures—a difficult thing to do when one's self or one's country is concerned—for censure is the index to improvement.

—1918 Notebook.

Character is the greatest gift of the past. History is not a catalog of facts, not the recountal of an impersonal succession of events, but the presentation in literary form of a steady stream of human lives flowing through time. The past of a nation consists not in a series of happenings but in a series of choices—resulting in loss and gain, in suffering and in joy, in failure and in success. The final summing-up is the nation's glory and honor which has a place in time and which will be carried undimmed and unhurt beyond time.

—1918 Notebook.

The history of mankind begins with a garden and ends with a city.

—1918 Notebook.

The best friends are those whose characters are complete, the men of history, the immortals. They have finished their record and all that has survived the acid test of the centuries is pure gold and quite reliable. They form a democracy available to anyone who takes pains enough to come within their reach.

—1918 Notebook.

So much are we, of this age, creatures of the swift-moving present that history is to many of us but a dry crust. To others, it forms the only nourishment. To still others, it is the foundation of a house which, in that it is being built forever, must be forever building. The last mentioned group have the right of it. Without history, the future is a will o' the wisp; with history, it is a homing eagle. Without the future, history is a bundle of dead facts; with the future, history is a compass to guide us on uncharted seas.

—*Sermon, York Minister, 3 July, 1927.*

History is a portrait rather than a photograph—not a mere bundle of facts.

—1927.

## IDEALISM

Admiration steeped in purpose ought to turn idealism into practice. It is not that we do not recognize the beauty and the desirability of the best, but we somehow count it not for us. We do not take it seriously. Idealism that is only admired is dishonored. Nothing is so eager to be used as love and gentleness and courage and honor.

—30 July 1924.

It is the function of idealism to weave its shining strands into the dark web of workaday life and make it a thing of beauty and strength.

—1925.

## JESUS CHRIST

God speaks through the Word made Flesh—not in mere language. Christ's words are less than Himself.

—1925.

Jesus Christ is the pattern and center of righteousness. It is significant and interesting that there are those who claim that He is the Son of God only in the same sense that every child of man is also a child of God. It is pertinent to ask why, then, in all the intervening centuries there has been no second Christ?

—14 May 1928.

There are two things which bind men together with a bond stronger than steel: (1) common suffering—experience, (2) a common ideal or aim. Those two things bind man and God. God saw that nothing short of a common experience would suffice, so He came. He took as his Own our ideals and interpreted them to us—shared our whole life—entered into our interests.

—Sermon, Lent IV, 1918.

The title our Lord liked above all others was "the Son of Man." Whatever superadded significance it may have had, its greatest meaning is the simplest—the reality of His manhood. It is the symbol of His insistence on the complete identification of Himself with mankind. He never calls Himself a Jew. And yet we find Him living out His life in the country and according to the customs and traditions of the Jews, except where they conflicted with the rights and duties of human manhood. It is the largest declaration that He could make of His loyalty to the race into which He had voluntarily entered.

—1918 Notebook.

It is not that Jesus Christ made atonement as that He was atonement, or, if you choose, was made atonement by the Incarnation in its historic completeness from Manger to Cross.

—1925.

The main features of Jesus' human character:

1. Humility—the loss of self in order to gain what is greater than self.
2. The aggressive power of meekness.
3. The courage that is not afraid.
4. Living by the Sermon on the Mount.

—1925.

Our Lord's own faith has not been dwelt upon enough. He needed faith for social redemption. His own greatest flight of faith was when He believed He would rise from the dead.

—5 April 1924.

It is undeniable that (1) there is not the least intimation that our Lord counted belief in His mode of birth as of sufficient moment even to mention it—certainly it had no place in discipleship in His days on earth; (2) while in days in which the miraculous pointed to the Divine, such belief may have aided in accepting Jesus as the Son of God, is that necessarily so now when the accent has been shifted?

—12 March 1924.

The word "I thirst" is a last testimony to the reality of the human nature which Jesus Christ wore. There was no turning of stones into bread at the beginning of life when an emergency tempted it. There was no evasion of the full cup of pain at the end when He shrank from drinking it and yet drank it to the bitter dregs.

—Good Friday, 1925.

We enjoy the results of His experience. He has robbed life of its chief fear—death. Whether men are conscious of it or not, they live in the light of His revelation.

—*Ibid.*

Our knowledge of Christ today is adequate neither for the individual nor for society. Christ must be stripped of all alien garments before He can stand forth as compelling love, sweeping us off our feet into His plane of thought and life.

—Sermon, York Minster, 3 July 1927.

## KINGDOM OF GOD

The Kingdom of God is not a mystical phrase but a living force, not a salve for the mind but a code of conduct, a progressive character.

—February 1918.

We cannot express in language the Kingdom of God, though we can express everything in terms of the Kingdom. The real test of values is whether or not things are so expressed.

—16 February 1918.

## THE LARGE OUTLOOK

Our outlook on mankind, not only from a church but also from a human standpoint, must be catholic. The lesser loyalties must always find expression in the major loyalties—the national or local church in terms of the universal, the nation in terms of the world of men.

—1918 Notebook.

The commonwealth of mankind is the only thing that is sufficient, the only thing that will satisfy, Church and nations alike. Realization being distant makes no difference in our disposition. We are not working for the moment but for the whole stretch of time and for timelessness.

—1918 Notebook.

## LEADER

A leader is always an object of attack. This must not be a source of surprise or indignation, and gives no ground for self-pity.

—Wartime Notebook.

The true leader is one who fits his day. Rip Van Winkle after too long a sleep was only a curiosity.

—1925.

## LIFE AND LIVING

The fundamental principle of life is surrender to that which is greater.

—1925.

The secret of great life is loss in something or someone greater than self.

—1925.

Life is not a blind experiment but the working-out of a purpose according to a perfect pattern. Everything in life is patterned after something which is greater than itself. Life is not, or not to be, empirical. The Christian religion is given to us to get at its puzzles with knowledge. We need not fight in the dark.

—1927.

Life consists of relationships—with persons, with things. This and nothing more. Religion consists in establishing and maintaining right relationships—with persons first, then with things. In the realm of persons, the first relationship is with God, the source of personality. Hence the first commandment. Then comes human life in its vastness—this is "the Law and the Prophets." Having established these ties we know how to deal with things. Their use is in bringing homage to persons. They must be kept in servile subjection. God comes first as Father, man next as brother, things last as sacraments, revealing, illumining, and serving.

—28 February 1925.

There are always two aims before human life—the immediate and the remote. The direction and motive and purpose must be identical for both. Washington was called a "convinced follower of the straight line." An ulterior motive or aim has a sinister significance. It suggests that the near and the far are not in accord. It is the ultimate aim that determines the color and direction of the immediate—not vice versa. All intermediate positions between the start and finish are along the straight path between purpose and accomplishment.

—16 February 1919.

We must live in realities and not in a world of dreams and phantasms. Envisaging the world as it actually is, is it a world which can be moralized and spiritualized and humanized. Is it a world whose substance we should alter, or does it merely need a new soul? Should we run away from it, or should we go deeper into it? The Incarnation answers the question. We must inhabit it, fill it, inspire it.

—10 March 1925.

Self-sacrifice in growing degree is essential for personal and corporate progress. There cannot be growth without pain. In this life there is no period when a man can rest at ease. Onward, ever onward!

—*Notebook.*

Misunderstanding is inevitable among the dull of perception, anger from those whose vested interests are imperilled, and spite from the mischievous, the meddlers, the jealous.

—19 July 1923.

I believe in making life exciting, a thing of thrills, but of a sort that will not exhaust vitality so that it will flicker and die before life is fairly over. There is an enthusiasm which burns the more brightly the longer

it is aflame. Christ's joy and glory were at their height when material prospects were extinguished. Thrills of the flesh can be exhausted soon and leave a heap of hopeless ruins. Guard the capacity for enjoyment.

—*Notebook.*

All problems carry the key to their solution in their own pocket.

—*1918 Notebook.*

To cease one's activities is almost to die.

—*2 May 1923.*

We are today the sum-total of the past.

—*1 March 1925.*

Anything we can finally define is less than he who defines it.

—*1925.*

#### LIFE'S GREATEST LESSON

The greatest lesson of life has been learned when one has accepted the fact that, whatever his other activities, he can best aid the coming of the Kingdom of God by loyalty to the near duties which once seemed small, but which somehow loom large with advancing years—the maintenance of a fearless soul in the maze of common life, the steady cultivation of a living faith in a loving God who holds and controls the destiny of man, and the jealous safeguarding of inner peace which is the just heritage of a quiet conscience.

#### LIFE AS STRUGGLE

Life is creative strife. It takes the adverse strands and weaves them into the fabric of character.

—*1918.*

We resent, a little bit, the very idea that we must struggle always. Prophets who prick men with the goad of duty are not popular and are rather discounted as being gloomy. The question is not whether or not we shall struggle. It is what is the sphere and what are the weapons of our warfare.

—*1918 Notebook.*

The will to live is a great and determining factor in what happens especially when vitality is assailed by hostile forces or disease. We have as little right to lie down and die as we have to let the robber and the assassin have his way.

—*1918 Notebook.*

There are things to be done here and now for which no opportunity is given after death. Struggle and toil have disciplines belonging to the present which bring much inner treasure.

—1 February 1924.

It is of the royalty of a flower not to toil or spin. It is of the royalty of a man to toil and sweat. The Solomons in all their glory are not arrayed like the honest sons of toil.

—1925.

#### LOVE

Love is great when it is careful in little things.

—1918 Notebook.

First love is fondest love. Nothing can ever match it in intensity or in purity. The fragrance perfumes a whole lifetime.

—7 February 1919.

#### MAN

God built the smallest human life on a large scale. There is more wreckage from a failure to recognize our capacity than from an overestimate of it.

—1918 Notebook.

Man is a master not a toy of fate.

—*Ibid.*

He who is so strong as to be ready to reign in defeat is alone strong enough to reign in victory.

—*Ibid.*

We must be human before we can be anything else.

—*Ibid.*

If we would be great, we must submit to the test of greatness. It consists in doing small things greatly.

—Sermon, Epiphany I, 1919.

Finality of thought and fixity of definition are the stronghold of those who have ceased to think. The saddest epitaph a man can have is that he never changed an idea since he was old enough to have one.

—1927.

A desire to be all things to all men and to be beholden to none is a great aim but full of perils.

—13 March 1923.



## MIRACLES

Miracles would be very much out of order in a perfect or a complete world. The hypothesis of religion is that we are in a world disordered by men's interference. Miracles are God's overruling man's interference, or its consequences, directly or else by the hands of those who serve His higher order or Kingdom—putting into effect temporarily forces where opening is given.

—3 April 1924.

## MISSIONS

Our first duty to missions is to become ourselves what we expect of those to whom we send missionaries. The stream cannot rise above its source. You can give only what you have.

—1927.

Why are we indifferent to missionary work? Because our religion is not of sufficient value to us to make us desire to give it to others. It is good enough for ourselves. We would not want to lose it, though we are often looking around for something better. I am hostile to the idea of building great religious monuments in New York and Washington for a religion that is not able to provide the necessities of life for the missionaries and the missionfield. Let us do the obligatory before we do the luxurious.

—11 March 1924.

## MOODS OF THE SOUL

Are the moods of the soul to be controlled by weather or circumstances? Why do we think God is favorable to us when the sky is clear, and cower and fear when clouds sweep in? Is not the triumph of life belief in the times of darkness, pain, or defeat?

## MOTHERHOOD

Wherever there is a good son and real man, search for a spiritual and good mother.

—Good Friday, 1925.

## OCEANS

Oceans used to divide and hide. Now the waves of the sea unite the shores they separate.

—1927.

## OPPORTUNITY

Necessity is the door of opportunity to the unwilling: to the willing all life is the throne of opportunity.

—1918 Notebook.



No risk, no opportunity. No peril, no romance.

—18 February 1914.

#### ORDINATION CHARGE

Let your thinking, anchored as it is to God as revealed in Jesus Christ, be fearless and adventurous. There are boundless planes of thought waiting for your exploration. On the surefooted steed of faith you are safe wherever you may roam. Though you are a guardian of the Truth, much more is the Truth your guardian. Do not be afraid if the Truth leads you into the narrow lanes of minorities. All majorities begin in minorities. To die learning is a noble ambition attained by few.

#### OUR AGE

The day of great individuals has gone—the day of the multitudes has come.

—1918 Notebook.

Our age lives as though mortality were immortality. That means that we have elevated time above eternity and matter above spirit. The mass of people are as unwise virgins. They measure the value of things spiritual by their power to promote creature-comfort and fend off disaster and trouble. The Church itself is to blame. The flock is hungry and troubled and lost. The pastors are not feeding them with nourishing food. The simple duty of the pastor has been obscured by mechanism, organization, and traditions. To know one's people, individually, particularly, is the necessary prerequisite to ministering to them. There is no harder, higher duty. Our Lord's command to Peter grows more wonderful.

—2 January 1923.

Now is Christianity's greatest opportunity—to declare to the whole world its power to deal effectively with the grand movements and central troubles of mankind.

—13 June 1923.

#### PENITENCE

True penitence shows itself in active service, not in dull moping or retreat from society. The greater the sin, the greater the service to be done in reparation.

—13 October 1904.

One must learn to go to God, not with the penitence that fears outraged majesty, but with the aching sorrow that desires to make amends to a

wronged Friend. It may be, why not? that we can comfort God. Anyhow we need comfort—the comfort that only His ever-sorrowing heart can give.

—23 May 1923.

#### PRAYER AND FELLOWSHIP WITH GOD

Spoken prayer must always be a part of life, but a reverent search in every corner of one's experience for evidences of God's presence and personal love ought to form a large part of a man's religious effort.

—22 October 1903.

Ethical conduct for Christ's sake, based on personal communion with God, of a more or less mystical character, with a moderate emphasis on the sacraments, feeds and satisfies and strengthens.

—26 April 1907.

A conscience at peace with God—it means comfort but it also means a power which is beyond all other powers.

—1918 Notebook.

The reward of obedience to God's will is friendship with God.

—1925.

God first: man second: things third.

—1925.

The practice of the presence of God is the foundation not only of piety but also of character.

—19 December 1926.

The only real world is the inner world, and the real is the innermost. Man's chief business is to secure for himself the right kind of an inner world—motives, imagination, desire, thought. The visible world has no constant value. The greatest bulk may render no value to one to whom a violet or a rose may hold untold treasure. On the whole, it may be said that we get only that which we are capable of from the sensible universe. There is neither magic nor deceit in finding God in His power and beauty and love in a crumb of bread and a drop of wine.

— Notebook.

No one can understand the beauty and power of life unless he has learned how to pray. The illuminating power of prayer is wonderful. It is like the light carried into the depths of a mine; it reveals the rich treasures that are hidden in dark places. It is not so much that by its means we

can utterly destroy the terrible but we can alter its character, robbing it of those characteristics that make it terrible. It is not that we strive by prayer to bend God's will to our desires, but we strive to place ourselves where God can bend our wills to His desires.

#### RELIGION AND SCIENCE

Science cannot finally appraise value, although its function is to prepare the way for such appraisal. But there must be science plus a factor which transcends all natural sciences in order that we may arrive at supreme value. Religion is this factor.

—1925.

Religion fixes its attention on what lies behind phenomena: science busies itself with facts or the phenomenal expression of ultimate reality. Religion looks through and beyond the seen to the unseen to discover that of which the seen is but a shadow and symbol. Science *qua* science has nothing to say about reality. It deals with processes.

—1925.

#### SIN AND FORGIVENESS

There is really only one sin and that is rebellion against the will of God. This is an attitude of the heart and soul rather than act.

—*Letter*, 1925.

There is one great evil, though many ramifications and manifestations—the blanket word "sin." It has an ugly sound in English. The Greek language has many different words for it and its consequences—culpable ignorance, rebellion, self-will, broken fellowship with man, broken fellowship with God, suffering of body, incompetence and failure, fear and despair. There is one great emancipation—forgiveness—the results of which are illumination, obedience and freedom, renewed fellowship and understanding among our fellows, renewed fellowship with God, triumph in suffering, victory even in defeat, trust and peace.

—*Good Friday*, 1925.

All sin is rebellion or lawlessness—living by disorder.

—*Ibid.*

The full effect of sin is to cut off from God, the source of life.

—*Ibid.*

Not only is the wages of sin death but sin itself is death.

—*Ibid.*

Jesus saves through forgiveness, a dynamic releasing from a paralytic condition of imagination and will, an enabling process ending in emancipation.

—*Ibid.*

#### TIME AND SPACE

There is no intrinsic value to either time or space. In its greatest stretches, or in its most minute parts, the value is an imparted or imputed value. Both time and space, then, are completely under our control, instruments in our hands.

—10 October 1924.

The discovery of microcosmic colloidal universes is amazing. Many years ago, I used to dream of this as a possibility. Then there is the discovery of universes greater than our own in the nebulae of Hercules. It makes human life shrink into insignificance from one standpoint, but enlarges it infinitely from another. Our power to conceive of, discover, and use, these universes declares the grandeur of our stature. Size is of no importance, neither is duration. It is the way sentient beings respond to these stimuli and the richness of their production that counts. A speck may be greater than a mountain and a moment greater than a thousand years.

—21 February 1924.

#### TRADITION AND CONTINUITY

This is not a time for resting on traditions. The worship of mere continuity is to check progress.

—1918 Notebook.

Attachment to a thing because it has always existed is a fruitful cause of misfortune.

—*Ibid.*

The best of the seed is in the golden richness of the headed grain. The vitality of the acorn is in the leafy splendor of the oak. The splendor of Roman Law is in the jurisprudence of our day, and the Magna Charta lives in the Declaration of Independence and the Covenant of the League of Nations. The old heavens and earth, the old ideals and their embodiment, march with a shout into the ideals and achievements of today. Franklin's kite lives in the trolley and motor. Newton gives standing-ground for Einstein's adventure, and all yesterday jostles and encourages today. So the heritage of our forefathers declares its glory by passing into the developments of a new day and a new world.

—Sermon, Easter III, 1925.

# VOCATION

The note of assurance or certainty in a man's life always gives it distinction and beauty.

—1925.

How the sense of vocation sustains one who knows himself to be but a tiny speck floating in the sea of the ages! Slowly it has all come out until it is quite clear that I must conclude my service as I am unfettered by further office of administrative duties.

—2 October 1925.

# WAR AND PEACE

The question of world peace is the Church's first business. Is war murder? Under what conditions is it not murder? The question for the moment is not the justification of the use of force, but of war as a means of settling international disputes. War of conquest is ruled out *ab initio*. Who decides right and wrong—the Church or the nation? Who first said in Christendom that war was in accordance with the mind and teaching of Christ? The State has to do with crimes, the Church with sins.

—24 September 1923.

The Church must revise moral values and determine that war is murder. Then we will be near the end of war.

—11 October 1923.

The question is not, What shall be the attitude of the Church to war? but, What is the mind of the Head of the Church? Is it so uncertain that we cannot lay down a clear statement? Or are we afraid to make the most glorious venture that man can make? The Christian's query is, What would Christ have me do as a member of His Church? and, What does he bid His whole mystical body do? Never does the disunity of Christendom lay bare its incompetence and impotency as when these questions confront us.

—1 June 1924.

We must make the issue clear—force as God or God as force in international disputes.

—5 February 1925.

No one more than the soldier has more reason to labor for peace. He knows as none other what war means.

—Address, 13 May 1925.

There is no glory in war except that which fine manhood carries into it.

—*Memorial Day Address, 1927.*

#### WEALTH

Wealth is its worst enemy. It creates vulgarity which makes culture flee with hasting feet.

—1927.

You possess only what you can use.

—1927.

#### WORDS

Words rise and fall according to the value of the person who utters them. The Seven Words from the Cross are like so many windows through which we can look into the soul of Jesus.

—*Good Friday, 1925.*

## II. A Great Man's Friends

#### THEODORE ROOSEVELT

Went to Oxford. Present at the Sheldonian Theatre when Mr. Roosevelt received his LL.D. Heard his Romanes Lecture. . . . The ceremony at Oxford of extraordinary interest. Roosevelt said nothing new, but he kindled imagination and roused virile spirit.

—7 June 1910.

Went to Sagamore Hill with the Roosevelts overnight. Talked late with T. R. He is a noble-hearted man, conscious of his strength, determined to use himself to the best advantage for his nation's good. Was alone with them. The children are all away but Quentin.

—12 August 1910.

#### WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT

Had an hour with the President. He read me Kipling's "If," with some feeling! . . . Dined at the White House and went with the President to the "Old Homestead."

—2 November 1910.

#### LORD ROBERT CECIL

Lord Robert has a large head, he stoops and has rather a shambling walk. His eyes are kindly grey but rather old and tired. He made a strong appeal for the League and was well heckled. But his answers were fair and able. He quite captured the meeting.

—2 April 1923.

At dinner to Lord Robert by the Non-Patrisan League of Nations Association. Again he was delightful and most powerful in dealing with questions.

—4 April 1923.

I introduced him as "Christian statesman, friend of America, and apostle of peace."

—7 April 1923.

GENERAL PERSHING

Confirmed John Joseph and Frances Warren Pershing.

—23 January 1910.

Time justifies my instinctive opposition to Pershing's running for the Presidency. He could not have avoided similar experience to that of Grant. The case of Washington stands unique. I am jealous for Pershing's real fame, which stands secure and could not be enhanced by position. He has carried himself with a dignity and wisdom that are above criticism. Certainly today he is nearer to the ex-soldier than he was four years ago. He will stand at the bar of history as a great soldier figure who was able to resist the dangerous wiles of political ambition and seek, not the dazzling reward of mere place, but the opportunity to serve in the sphere for which he was trained. Such self-restraint calls for and reveals character.

—8 February 1924.

PRESIDENT ELIOT OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY

Spoke at Harvard Club at President's birthday celebration. The power of moral rectitude exemplified in his life. With self-assurance he was modest withal. He lived "in the present and the future rather than in the past." He found joy in work—this was the theme of his own address at Harvard. He has that lofty courage that knows no fear, always aiming to be and do what is right. Consequences to him are interesting, whether uncomfortable or pleasant, never terrifying, and at worst only disconcerting and educative.

—20 March 1924.

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON

President Wilson laid to rest in the National Cathedral. Death has tamed animosities. Wilson's chief greatness was in his broad vision and invincible purpose.

—6 February 1924.



**PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING**

On the train learned with a great shock of President Harding's sudden end. His human-kindness was such that the loss seems personal.

—3 August 1923.

The whole country in genuine grief over the death of President Harding.

—7 August 1923.

We had solemn Requiem for our President at St. Paul's [Cathedral, Buffalo, N. Y.] The service was beautiful and the church filled. In the afternoon the church was jammed, people filling every available spot out into the street. We had part of the Burial Office. I gave a brief address at each service.

—10 August 1923.

### III. Personalia

I am 48 years old today. How much of time is still left to me? God help me to use it, be it long or short, for Him and His.

—9 April 1910.

At the morning Eucharist there came vividly before me the possibility of a world conference on Faith and Order.

—Edinburgh, 5 October 1910.

Why should I have been allotted so many years is a mystery. As I see it, my life has been so shamefully small and broken and stained, compared with what it might easily have been, that I marvel at God's patience. May the balance be better and more worthy!

—9 April 1923 (61st birthday).

A wild storm, cold and carrying heavy snow, awakes memories when, as a boy, I saw sheer beauty in the white snow and found joyous thrills in the blustering wind. Indeed I have always rejoiced in the tempest and lightning, the blizzard and typhoon on land and sea. The nights on the battle-line were never so dreadful that I was not moved by their terrible beauty—the Very lights, the rockets, the searchlights, the flares, the flash of the guns, and all the while the swift rattle of the machine-guns, the roar of the cannon, the whining, moaning shells with the heavy, determined crash of their explosion, had for me a music that fascinated even when it threatened my extinction.

—3 January 1923.



How comparatively unimportant length of days is! I have some pain and symptoms which may mean the beginning of the end. Knowing pretty well what I may expect, I must keep going till the last, God willing. To favor myself or spare myself to prolong my life is distasteful.

—30 January 1924.

Canada still stirs my emotions. Life here is healthier and stronger and more deliberate than in the United States. I should be sorry to see Canada infected by the hysteria that is characteristic of the United States.

—March 1924.

In bad physical trim, but one must go on and do what has to be done with a smile and a cheer. I suppose my rickety old heart will stop short one of these days—as it is not an uncommon habit of hearts. I should like to live a bit longer—not that it makes much difference. But it looks to me as though I had done pretty much all that I am capable of doing. Certainly I have had a highly privileged life and a longer one than I used to expect. My contribution to my generation has been small and of little worth.

—24 March 1924.

Another birthday. How little I deserve it! More and more courage is needed as I move toward the close of life. After sickness and suffering have done their worst, may it be that I shall be able to say with Masfield's blind beggar, "My own courage, that they did not take."

—9 April 1924.

"Tubby" Clayton was delicious. All calls for a speech only elicited, "In my private litany I have a petition: 'From attempting to make up for my shortness of stature by the length of my tongue, Good Lord, deliver me.'"

—15 December 1924.

Responsibility, such as that conferred on me, carries with it that stimulus and sense of honor which spurs one to do his best. Privilege and responsibility are opposite sides of the same coin.

—3 June 1927.

The year just closed does not find me a much better man. Greater honesty of thought and speech, greater humility—I wonder if I have any humility at all—greater trust of others—all this I covet.

—1 January 1929.

I am crawling along, and I am told that I cannot expect anything but the slowest kind of locomotion, so I am well content.

—*Letter from U. S. Embassy, London.*

4 February 1929.

Cambridge walked away from Oxford in the boat race, winning by 7½ lengths.

—24 March 1929.

(Last entry in diary.)

[Bishop Brent died 27 March 1929 in Lausanne, Switzerland.]

#### IV. Meditations

##### 1. GOD'S LOVE

*God is love paternal:*

Therefore He loves me as a father his child.

He provides:

life like His life, life eternal;  
wisdom that never errs;  
affection that satisfies the heart;  
abundance that makes our poverty rich.

O love, Who are our Father,

Thy love is life

Thy life is love

In Thy life I love

In thy love I abide.

*God is holy (wholly) love:*

He imparts that which He is.

His touch carries with it His character.

His goodness (God-ness) is His gift to me.

Love is always whole.

Love gives nothing short of itself, its wholeness, its holiness.

Love gives. It is for me to take.

Holy love, I would love Thee wholly

Thou who hast never offered me less than Thyself

Move me to offer Thee nothing less than myself,

That I may be holy as Thou are holy.

Make me whole in mind

That I may think health (wholeth),

Whole in desire

That I may reach after health,  
Whole in body  
That I may render healthy (whole) service.

*God is love that establishes fellowship:*

The Father with His children.

An unceasing fellowship reaching every corner and moment of life.

An enveloping fellowship closing in one the beloved as the air, the light, the water, embrace whom they receive.

An indwelling fellowship which is not content to be with, but must be in, the beloved.

The spirit is the inmost Self of the Father, His holiness, His wholeness.

—28 February 1925.

## 2. JOY

1. *Joy is a spiritual possession—not temperamental.* It is secured only by fellowship with the Holy Spirit. It is a manifestation of inner life.

2. *It comes second only to love.* It makes all life radiant. It ought not to be a passing mood or temper of mind. It becomes a permanent disposition.

3. *It is a rightful heritage of the Christian* and should be claimed at once as initial to life.—the chief handmaid of love.

4. *It makes love beautiful.* It is the Sun for the rest of religion. Just as light is one of God's three highest attributes, so is Joy in man's life one of His earliest fruits. Within, it means splendor and amplitude and fearlessness; without, it carries inspiration, enthusiasm, and gladness.

5. *Joy gives no place to gloom.* Consider how brightness and cheer should be always and everywhere a manifestation of the indwelling Spirit. There may be, there must be, at times, sternness, repose, terrible earnestness, but never gloom and foreboding and depression so contagious as to cloud other lives. Cf. Faber asking for his Viaticum the second time and when refused it asking for Pickwick!

6. *There must be deliberate cultivation of joy.*

7. *First mention of Joy in Bible is I Sam. xviii 6.* The women met David returning from the slaughter of the Philistines with joy and singing. Their joy was that of those released from fear of the enemy.

It was the joy that comes with the removal of impending danger. The women paid homage to the author of victory.

- Consider: (i) Christ has defeated once and for all our enemy.  
 (ii) Our freedom consists in our facing life as immediate and prospective victors.  
 (iii) Our songs should rise to Him constantly from the heart in that He "giveth us the victory."  
 (iv) Absence of gloom and foreboding clears the ground for active joy.

—19 January 1923.

### 3. NIGHT GARLANDS

God is sleepless that He may watch over us sleeping:  
 He giveth His beloved sleep:  
 While we rest He works

for us  
 in us

We rest our cares on Him  
 every truant thought  
 all troubles and sorrows  
 fears great and small  
 for perfect love casteth out fear  
 His perfect love casts it out of us  
 Our (would be) perfect love casts  
 it out of ourselves

And so we sleep  
 quietly  
 trustfully  
 refreshingly

### 4. PREPARATION FOR HOLY COMMUNION

- I. *Whom do I receive in Holy Communion:*
  1. Christ's presence is always with us everywhere.
  2. He is Personality who observes, listens, understands, and answers our appeals by the inner pressure of His whole life on ours.
  3. He brings God to us through His human nature.
  4. In the Holy Communion and Fellowship, He comes intensively for a special purpose that we may dwell in Him and He in us.
  5. He comes, not for a moment to leave us again when we leave the church, but to enfold us permanently and repeatedly in His love.

Through His Spirit, He abides "closer to us than breathing, nearer than hands or feet."

II. *How am I to prepare to receive Him?*

1. I must sweep clear of rubbish the room of my soul that He may find place to dwell—He in me. I must surrender my life to Him—I in Him.
2. Evil lives in the soul until it is ejected. It is cast out by
  - (a) A sorrow that refuses to live with it.
  - (b) A purpose that, having cast it out, will bar the door to its re-entrance.
3. I must find out what is wrong that I may remedy it.
  - (a) In what way have I failed, since my last Communion, to love and serve God—in thought of Him and His will for me? in my life of prayer?
  - (b) In what way have I done wrong toward myself and so injured my power to serve others—in laziness? in harboring bad, idle, or selfish thought? in any secret sins known only to God?
  - (c) In what way have I injured or wronged others?—by anger, malice, or any kind of ill-will, by untruthfulness or lying? by lack of respect toward others—contempt, condescension, or neglect?
4. I shall tell God my troubles and ask Him to forgive me and to release me:

I confess to God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, that I have sinned in thought, word, and deed, by my own most grievous fault, especially. . . . . I am heartily sorry for these my sins. I firmly purpose amendment of life. Wherefore I pray God to have mercy upon me and forgive me my sins.

5. Then thank God for His forgiving love, which is immediate and complete. His forgiveness will be consummated in the Holy Communion. Forgiveness means re-admission to the tightening of the bonds of fellowship between self and God.

#### 5. THE TEN COMMANDMENTS

By guarding the letter, instead of putting in lucid, intelligible terms the spirit, we have minimized this rugged bulwark of morality. The alteration of the words of the Ten Commandments into Christian terminology would be to honor them and give them full power. For instance:

1. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God as manifested in Jesus Christ and Him only shalt thou serve.

2. God is spirit and thou shalt worship Him in spirit and truth.
3. Thou shalt hallow and reverence the Name of God.
4. Thou shalt be diligent in Christian worship and service every day of the week, and devote the first day of the week chiefly to worship and things of the Spirit in the Church of Christ.
5. Thou shalt obey all rightly constituted authority in Home, Church, and State.
6. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself.
  - i. By guarding his person as your own from violence.
  - ii. By looking on your body and his as the temple of God's Spirit.
  - iii. By respecting his property-rights as your own.
  - iv. By being content with your lot, and rejoicing in the happiness of others as your own.

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# Prospectus for a Christian Consideration of the French Revolution

By George V. Taylor\*



As a trained historian, disciplined in a "scientific" tradition which deliberately rejects and despises every thought that is "unproved," has one the right to undertake the writing of history in a manner consistent with the Christian faith? Is it, to put the matter in other words, a betrayal of professional values or obligations to attempt a Christian interpretation of an historical event or development? Or, again, is it in any way possible to deduce a rational, methodical, and systematic kind of historical scholarship from a belief in a Creator whose existence, though it cannot be rationally proved, has been decisive in determining the outcome of events?

The essay which follows grows directly out of these questions and the serious personal concern they have aroused in the writer. Finding ourselves in the grip of a double commitment, first to a professional tradition strong in skepticism, and second to a religious belief originating in faith, we have set out to discover whether these two commitments are within possibility of reconciliation.

This would not seem to be an entirely personal and private inquiry but an issue of general academic importance, in which two parties are directly involved. The first party consists of those who, like the writer, believe that there exists a point of contact between their scholarly work and their religious faith, a point of interchange and even of interdependence deserving of reverential consideration. For such persons it becomes important to establish as clearly and explicitly and carefully as possible what changes, if any, are inflicted upon their professional attitudes and practices by the fact of their Christian belief. This is more difficult than it sounds at first hearing, and the decisions involved are not quickly or shortly to be made.

The second party to the discussion consists of historians who hold that the "objective" or "disinterested" pursuit of historical truth forbids subjection to any faith, religious or secular. By training and through their attachment to scientific method, they remain hostile to history written on the basis of postulates adopted in advance. The position of many of them is summarized in a pronouncement of the Committee on

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Historiography of the Social Science Research Council, formulated in 1946. Under the heading, "Important Sources of Methodological Error," the committee declares:

Those who work in historiography in the scientific spirit cannot embrace any of the absolutes put forth by theologians or philosophers of any school as furnishing mandates by which the data of the past must be selected and organized or shaped to fit the institutional requirements of those who espouse such absolutes. Historians should seek to place absolute systems of thought in their appropriate settings of time and place.<sup>1</sup>

For the most part, those who accept the foregoing dictum as an indispensable canon of professional practice tend to rule out of court any historical approach originating in religious faith. Any profession has the right and the obligation to determine the standards of performance required of its members and even to exclude from recognized membership and practice those who fall short of these standards, but those whose qualifications are questioned are entitled to a full hearing before exclusion is pronounced.

In this paper, we argue mainly that what we recognize as Christian history outlaws apologetics and polemics, demands full and accurate consideration of verified evidence, and imposes obligations and responsibilities which constitute rather serious safeguards against inaccurate and dishonest practices. But we do not attempt to conceal that in the perspective offered by this Christian history a particular type of interpretation is developed affecting the selection and arrangement of the material, the explanation and commentary, and the very choice of a topic. This is to say that a Christian historiography would display a character and temperament peculiar to itself, setting it apart from other traditions, but not, we think, from the scheme of process and methodology upon which the profession presently insists. As for the statement of the Committee on Historiography reproduced above, we accept it in everything but the last sentence. For Christian belief is not appropriate to any *particular* setting of time and place. Its relevance is eternal.

Nearly all the illustrative discussion which follows has to do with the French Revolution, a celebrated and controversial field of historical

<sup>1</sup>*Theory and Practice in Historical Study: A Report of the Committee on Historiography* (New York, Social Science Research Council, 1946), 136. This is one of twenty-one "propositions" in which the committee summarized its methodological concepts. The membership of the committee was eminent and influential, including Charles A. Beard and two other historians who have since been honored with the presidency of the American Historical Association.



scholarship in which a great deal is already known and new discoveries are constantly being announced. What would be the outstanding features of a Christian reconsideration of this event? We hope that before we have finished we shall have indicated the major features of such a reconsideration, which, to our knowledge, has never been undertaken.

## I. The Ironic Aspects of the French Revolution

As I now see it, the French Revolution was undertaken in the presence of a great-hearted expectation, publicly avowed: that of bringing into being a free, equitable, prosperous, and progressive society, first in France and later in other lands.<sup>2</sup> It was thought at the time that the application of honest and disinterested intelligence to the conduct of public affairs would suffice to bring men out of a certain darkness into the clear light of a better world in which reason alone would assure improvement in the condition of man and benevolence in his treatment of his fellows. It has occurred to us to ask why this expectation was refuted, and especially during the first six years of the Revolution, why it created more problems than it settled, and why it led to the disillusionment or even the destruction of those who served it. The summary that follows suggests the elements with which any historian will have to deal in deriving an answer to these questions, and it makes clear in what sense these questions grow naturally out of the history of the Revolution.

The motives of the early leaders of this revolution were secular, and within the large and diverse group who assumed leadership in 1789 several types of impulsions may be perceived and identified, including the rationalist and humanitarian philosophy of the Enlightenment, indignation at the injustices of the old régime, shame at the decline of French international power and influence, and the encouraging examples of the Glorious Revolution in England and the revolt of the American

<sup>2</sup>It can also be seen as a chapter in the history of democracy, as an episode in the history of the European balance-of-power mechanism; as the origin of the present factions and controversies in French politics; as a classic example of revolutionary behavior or as a school of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary technique; as a social revolution in which wealth, status, and power were redistributed between social groups; as an international system of political control, dominated by the French, in which other peoples were either incorporated bodily under French administration or brigaded into satellite states; or as an episode in the development of all European states and of such remote overseas lands as Latin America, Indonesia, and the United States. Each of these themes offers a unique perspective, in the light of which the Revolution takes on a particular character because of the particular manner in which its events are related to one another. Each perspective is "true," but it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form them into a compound or amalgam.

colonies against the mother country. With some of these men less respectable motives undoubtedly played a part, including private interest, ambition for power and notoriety, and resentment at frustrations and injuries inflicted upon them by the monarchy, the aristocracy, and the Church. Doubtless, too, our short tabulation of these motives should include at least the acknowledgment of deep psychological drives affecting consciousness and action which cannot be found in the documentation. But after all, the single great justification that everyone gave for the Revolution was that it would improve the condition of man and assure his intellectual and moral elevation.

No conspiratorial party or network provoked the outbreak of the Revolution, although conservative historians have always maintained the contrary. In spite of the fact that there existed in France in 1789 many associations friendly to reform, historical research has failed to identify any organized clique aiming at a seizure of the state through incitement to violence. That is to say, there were no Bolsheviks. The simple truth is that in the three years, 1787-1789, the monarchy collapsed under the weight of its problems, appealed to public support, and shortly found itself being reorganized by a parliament in which the reformers controlled the agenda.

This collapse of the old régime was itself prepared by three independent lines of development—the bankruptcy of the state (payments having been suspended in 1788), the incompetence of governmental personnel (including the king), and an economic crisis consisting of famine and unemployment which shattered the customary docility and discipline of the lower classes.

Each of these developments was in its own right indispensable to the event. The bankruptcy compelled the government to call into existence an elective parliament which had not been convoked for 175 years, and in this body the reformers dominated the proceedings. Originally summoned to give representative sanction to a new program of loans and taxes, they insisted upon reforming the state from top to bottom. Popular riots and tumults growing out of starvation and unemployment revealed the weakness of the monarchy's repressive elements (including the army), and in order to quiet these disorders local correspondents of the reformers at Versailles seized town governments in many provincial cities, as well as at Paris, organizing their own militia so as to restore popular discipline. As a result, the power of the reformers was reinforced and generalized, and the royal ministers were prevented from substituting coercion for reform. In short, the leaders of the Revolution took power when circumstances virtually

threw it into their hands. Their objective was to reconstruct and to regenerate. There was no revolt.

The legislation of 1789-1792 fulfilled all the original purposes of the reformers. A limited monarchy was organized, with an elected parliament, a constitution, and a declaration of rights.<sup>3</sup> Local government was entrusted to elected councils. A just and proportionate system of taxation was set up. Old obstacles to the growth of industry and trade were cleared away. Special privileges were abolished in great number, including the pensions distributed by the court to favorites, offices which had been obtained by purchase, caste discrimination in military, naval, and judicial appointments, and in 1790, the institution of nobility itself, hereditary or otherwise. Of the manorial dues imposed by landlords upon peasants in addition to rent, some were liquidated without compensation and others declared redeemable by the villagers. Judicial powers of *seigneurs* over peasants were terminated, and the compulsory tithe was cancelled. The administration of civil and criminal justice was completely overhauled, torture abolished, and trial under elected magistrates introduced.

The state being bankrupt, all the real property of the Church was confiscated to serve as the basis of a new currency issue (together with coin and bullion). It followed that the clergy became dependent upon the state for maintenance and support. As dependents they were officeholders. As officeholders, it was reasoned, they should be chosen by election. From this train of consideration emerged the famous Civil Constitution of the Clergy, under which bishops and priests were to be chosen by electors of departments and districts and the Pope notified by letter of their nomination, an arrangement wholly unacceptable to Rome because of the Catholic theory of the priesthood and the sacramental theology. Therefore, clergymen were forbidden by the Papacy, under pain of excommunication, to accept the reorganization of the Church, or to take the oath of allegiance to the new constitution required by the law.

Since by the end of 1791 the reformers had accomplished all that they had set out to do, the Revolution ought to have come to an end at that point. Instead, by March, 1793, it had become democratic, coercive, and even totalitarian in the darkest twentieth-century meaning of the word. We see in this transition from moderacy to radicalism one

<sup>3</sup> Voting was not democratic. Under the established property qualifications, about 4/7 of the adult males were admitted to the ballot, and only about 50,000 men were eligible for election to office. In 1789, there was no democratic movement.

of the many ironies of modern history, particularly ironic in that the defeat of the moderates was determined largely by the consequences of their own reforms. They were the victims of their own great aspirations to improve the lot of humankind and of that altruism which had given them the confidence and courage they needed. As we read the record of events, every considerable decree they imposed upon France increased the number of Frenchmen resentful of their reforms. Thus, by the end of 1791 there existed a huge and formidable counter-revolutionary opposition consisting of nobles, about two-thirds of the clergy, thousands of ejected officeholders, troubled Catholic laymen, and hundreds of thousands of lower-class elements responsive to clerical and aristocratic leadership, particularly in the countryside. The king and his family were of the counterrevolution. His younger brother, having emigrated, managed to bring together an international coalition against the Revolution consisting of the monarchs of Prussia and of the Hapsburg Empire, and when, in April of 1792, war was declared between these two powers on the one hand and France on the other, the king and his wife betrayed French military secrets to the court of Vienna.

The war created an extreme feeling of anxiety and tension in Paris and the provincial cities. Threatened with counterrevolutionary subversives within and counterrevolutionary armies without, the partisans of the Revolution demanded the displacement of the moderate leadership and the elevation of other types prepared to defend the Revolution by rigorous and even brutal expedients. In the course of this transition from moderation to radicalism, completed during the summer of 1792, the king was driven from the throne, later to be tried and executed, and a democratic republic was established, a republic, we hasten to add, in which the citizen was submitted to a severe discipline and close surveillance in the name of liberty, to approach the language of the times. That is to say, those who labored to defend liberty against its enemies were compelled to suspend it in its own interest.

It is a matter of record that during the Reign of Terror, as it is called, about 20,000 persons were condemned to death by "revolutionary courts," and that another estimated 300,000 persons were imprisoned as suspected counterrevolutionaries, some for nearly two years, under conditions which were far from agreeable. Unhappily, we must add to the foregoing tabulations the several hundreds of suspects drowned at Nantes without trial,<sup>4</sup> those killed during the fighting at Lyon in the fall of 1793, and many thousands who died in the civil war that raged

<sup>4</sup>Estimated at between 2,800 and 4,600, chained to the gunwales of barges scuttled in the Loire.

through the Vendée from 1793 to 1800.<sup>5</sup> The well-known "September Massacres" of 1792 in Paris disposed of 1,100 suspects in four days. These statistics, products of an exacting through sanguinary scholarship, omit many of the unrecorded atrocities of these years. And no means will ever be found of giving numerical expression to the enormous grief, anxiety, and agony felt by the terrorists and their victims alike. For during the Terror many of its own sponsors were sent to the scaffold by their rivals, others being subjected to vengeance and retaliation after the Terror had come to a close.

On the whole, it must be said in defense of the radical leaders of the Revolution that history and particularly literature has dealt with them unjustly. While some of them, especially the faction of Danton, were undoubtedly corrupt, others were motivated by selfless ideals of patriotism and even of reform, seeing themselves as the stalwart defenders of revolutionary and national virtue arrayed against the determination of wicked men to re-enslave and debase the French people. They saw the issues as moral issues, and some of them were convinced that through coercion and "purgation"<sup>6</sup> society might be prepared for a higher level of existence, in which the citizen would exercise his liberties with that degree of responsibility and loyalty without which democracy could not flourish. Such a man as Robespierre must be understood rather than vilified, and when he is understood his proscription and execution, accomplished in July of 1794 by those who feared him, stand as the last act in a real tragedy of altruism and error.

The history of the period after the fall of Robespierre is quickly told. From that point forward, power lay mainly in the hands of self-seekers and egoists, of which Bonaparte would appear to constitute the supreme example. As an attempt to ameliorate and elevate mankind, the Revolution ended with the execution of Robespierre and of his faction.

In this brief recapitulation, we note several truths which lay claim upon our curiosity. First, the circumstances out of which the Revolution arose were not purposely arranged by men. Second, the moderate leaders of the early Revolution undermined their own influence with every reform they enacted. Third, the radical leaders of the revolutionary Republic were obliged to rule by tyranny, and in this way, in spite of themselves, destroyed the ideal of liberty they professed to serve. Moreover, they found themselves forced to inflict a continuous

<sup>5</sup>Estimated by various authors at between 200,000 and 500,000. No quarter was given to prisoners taken in the fighting, either by republicans or by royalists. On one occasion, 1,896 prisoners were executed by firing squads at Angers.

<sup>6</sup>The word "purgation" occurs in the documents. Exceptionally it may mean death and imprisonment, but ordinarily exclusion from political life.

and suppressive discipline, compounded of punishment and fear, upon a people whom they wished to benefit, and their situation led them with inexorable logic to a series of factional struggles in which they, themselves, were brought to the scaffold, one group after another. Finally, a Revolution undertaken for the benefit of man, passing through stages of moderation and coercion, ended as an instrument of egoism and self-seeking.

These observations constitute the elements of an ironic appreciation of the French Revolution.

## II. Principles of Research

By research the historian means the collection and verification of what is called fact, fact being the information or evidence or material of which a history is constructed. Fact is multitudinous, diverse, elusive, falsely reported, and in the main lost beyond recovery. It can be sought expertly or improperly, intelligently or stupidly, honestly or dishonestly, and for this reason those professionally concerned with history have elaborated various principles governing research. Documents, for example, must be established as genuine, and as accurately reflecting the intentions of those who wrote them. They must be construed, in so far as possible, in the context in which they were first written. Finally, the historian is obliged to search out and to discover all documentary evidence which might possibly bear upon the subject he has chosen.

It is a curious fact of present-day scholarship that the recoverable body of evidence concerning the French Revolution is too vast for one man ever to examine in the course of his lifetime, so that the canons of research which we have just transcribed are only ideally attainable. We do not think, however, that they should be given up. Historians may be doomed to achieve only imperfect results, but in default of ideals such as these the results obtained will be *grossly* imperfect.

What kind of an approach to research is deducible from the Christian faith?

The Christian sees history as the record of the struggles of men to work out their destinies under God, either in submission or in defiance or in ignorance or in indifference. History is a mundane demonstration of Truths bestowed upon man by revelation. It has a meaning which is of a divine order. Therefore, to misrepresent history to oneself or to others is to misrepresent or falsify divine instruction. To search out historical truth dishonestly or even foolishly is an affront to God. It endangers the salvation of those who are thereby deceived. Whether



it is done deliberately or in lightness of heart, whether it is done for "good" reasons or "bad," it is as wrong as though a page of Scripture had been altered.

Now if what we have just written is true, as we firmly believe, it follows that a Christian is led naturally and by faith to a reverent observance of the strictest rules concerning the collection and evaluation of evidence. His responsibility is to no group, no party, no nation, no church, but to a Master who is universal and eternal, and who holds him most strictly accountable for the right exercise of his calling. Whence it follows, also, that he is bound to declare all the imperfections of his work which he cannot repair, and to indicate publicly and by deliberate avowal the inadequate foundation of every thinly established judgment. In his vocation as in his life, therefore, his faith lays upon him the obligation of humility.

This being said, we go on to suggest that Christian historiography of the past has been marred by two sources of error. First, it has shown too much eagerness in accepting unsubstantiated reports of the miraculous. The simple credulity of an Einhard or of an Otto of Freising or of the writers of the *Acta sanctorum* (hardly exceeding, by the way, the credulity of Herodotus), can be no model for Christian scholarship. While the possibility of miracle is certainly to be acknowledged, a Christian historian will demand verification as a safeguard against every fictitious or fraudulent claim.

The second source of error has been an excessive veneration for the sanctity of a sect or of a religious movement or institution. Religious bodies, communities, congregations, organizations, though divinely inspired, are composed of men, and in the Christian view all men are imperfect. It follows then that churches too are fallible and those who lead them. (They are not thereby rendered incapable of accomplishing things desired of God.) The rule of practice is that all certified documentary evidence concerning the history of a church must be accepted as real, and beyond alteration or concealment. No doubt it is a painful business for a Roman Catholic to write an account of the Renaissance popes (though Pastor has done it with wonderful honesty), or for a Calvinist to describe in full detail all of what was done at Geneva under Calvin or in Scotland under Knox. Lutherans, too, are likely to be troubled by the reformer's acquiescence in the bigamy of Philip of Hesse, and Anglicans by some aspects of the marital revolutions of Henry VIII. All this may be deplorable, but it is fact, and more harm has been done by attempting to deny it than by honest and melancholy acknowledgement. It is, indeed, with an extreme sense of

depression and even despair that one traces successive failures of churches, the frequent corruption and dishonesty of clergymen, hypocrisy in the laity, self-interest dominating religious institutions, and the occasional subordination of churches by secular interests. But if history has value as demonstration, then these unpleasanties will have to be explored without illusions in the measure that they are verified by research. One of the chief beneficiaries of such a realism would be Christianity itself.

Our point is that it is possible to speak of a Christian empiricism, a scrupulous regard for temporal actuality, an insistence upon verification and substantiation, a refusal to accept dubious historical testimony, and finally a readiness to assent to those things which are abundantly certified by indisputable evidence, painful though they may be. This empiricism seems in our view to follow directly from the faith and to rule out partisan ecclesiastical history. It rules out also the kind of history written by such Catholic conservatives as M. Gaxotte and the abbé Barruel, in which leaders of the reform movement are slandered, fictitious accounts of atrocities are concocted, conspiracies are described which never were formed, and large untruths of great consequence are justified by artful juggling of the evidence (which is omitted where convenient) or by subtle suggestion and insinuation. The division between good and evil during the Revolution followed no party or sectarian lines, and no historian should assume the contrary *a priori*.

For these reasons, those who follow the "scientific spirit" in historical research will find no problem with which they will deal in a manner which differs from the procedure of their Christian colleagues.

### III. Interpretation

In historical scholarship, an interpretation is a statement or implication of order, pattern, unity, or meaning perceived in the mass of what is known. It can be developed only after research has been completed, and then with great difficulty and at some hazard. Since interpretation is always speculative and controversial, historians have come to distrust it as "unscientific," and to prefer as an ideal the goal declared over a hundred years ago by the German scholar, von Ranke—to write history "exactly as it happened."

On the whole, Ranke's dictum, which has achieved a high level of authority in the profession, has led to salutary results. Out of it has come a strong tradition of skepticism tending to reduce, if not to abolish, an ancient propensity for self-delusion growing out of wild



and uncontrolled conjecture. It has cleared the air of a good deal of uncertified and indefensible rubbish, and submitted historians to a measure of discipline which has increased the trustworthiness of their books (while at the same time reducing their value as entertainment). We think that Christian historiography ought to be profoundly grateful for this emphasis upon painstaking and accurate description, and for the many superbly reliable histories written under the direction of this school of procedure. Grateful too for the bibliographies, archival guides and directories, chronologies, and carefully published documents, which seem the natural products of such a scrupulous scholarly temperament. In fact, it would be impossible to get very far with the type of Christian history which we envisage except for the technical progress realized within the last century as a consequence of the so-called "scientific spirit," with which Ranke's name will always be identified.

Every idea, however, has its limitations, and this doctrine is no exception. If one were to write, for example, a history of the French Revolution "exactly as it happened," such a book would be interminable, for it would have to be complete. Under a rigorous application of the doctrine, nothing could be omitted without prejudice to that full and complete knowledge which alone guarantees impartiality. Now the legislative debates of the Revolution from May 5, 1789, to January 4, 1794, have been published, in defective although convenient form.<sup>6-a</sup> They come to eighty-two huge volumes, ranging between six hundred and eight hundred pages apiece, each page covered with close print divided into columns for convenience, and even for the limited period covered they are said to be incomplete. When one considers the multitude of recorded words and acts and intentions to be found within the numerous public archives and libraries of France—correspondence of national and local offices and officials, discussions of revolutionary clubs, proceedings of department, district, and communal councils, newspapers, military orders and reports, judicial records of all types, administrative reports on price control and food administration—the impossibility of writing the history of the Revolution "exactly as it happened" becomes painfully obvious.

There must, therefore, be a selection of facts deliberately chosen from the total available material before a portable or comprehensible history of the French Revolution can be offered to the printer. On what basis will this selection be made? On the basis of the interest of the reader?

<sup>6-a</sup>J. Mavidal and E. Laurent, eds., *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860 . . . , Première série (1787 à 1799)* (82 vols., Paris, 1867-1914). Publication was suspended at the beginning of the First World War and never renewed.

That condemns us to reproduce our revolution in terms of current problems and controversies, introducing shades of emphasis and accentuation which constitute (along with the omissions) a distortion of the original. On the basis of "importance?" That implies a theory of causation which itself stands independent of the evidence. Obviously, therefore, the very process of reducing the material brings into play the personal judgment of the historian and excludes the possibility of a non-interpretative and impersonal account.

For illustration of the force of these difficulties, we recur to the work of François-Alphonse Aulard, first to hold the chair in the history of the French Revolution established at the Sorbonne.<sup>7</sup> Aulard's great contribution to the historiography of the French Revolution was the emphasis he placed upon "scientific" procedures, objectivity, and impartiality. He really tried to write history "exactly as it happened," and, without minimizing the excellence of his scholarship, one must observe that in his great *Histoire politique de la Révolution française*<sup>8</sup> he is seen attributing motives on the basis of conjecture (although with fine regard for the evidence), framing statements of the sense of change (implying progress and degradation, which reflect ethical values), and arranging his material in such an order that an entire interpretation is implied. And when one finishes this book, as well as others inspired by Aulard or prepared under his direction, one has a fairly precise idea of who were the heroes of the French Revolution and who the villains. All this is interpretation. It is impossible for us to conceive of any non-interpretative work of synthetic history. He who wishes to avoid interpretation must content himself with reproducing the documents in their chronological order, without explanation and without discussion.<sup>9</sup>

Several interpretations of the French Revolution have been evolved by the historians of the subject, who constitute a profession within a profession. A few of them may be paraphrased here.

1. CARLYLE: The French Revolution was a mob disturbance, violent, ruinous, and anarchic, showing that men re-

<sup>7</sup>Augustin Cochin, *La Crise de l'histoire révolutionnaire: Taine et M. Aulard* (Paris, 1909). James L. Godfrey, "Alphonse Aulard (1849-1928)," in Bernadotte E. Schmitt, ed., *Some Historians of Modern Europe* (Chicago, 1942), 45-65. Paul Farmer, *France Reviews its Revolutionary Origins* (New York, 1943), 61-66. Georges Belloni, *Aulard historien de la Révolution française* (Paris, 1949).

<sup>8</sup>(Paris, 1901).

<sup>9</sup>We believe that the following historical operations are essentially interpretative in that they are determined not only by the evidence but also by experience and judgment accumulated apart from the evidence by the historian: the choice of a topic, selection and arrangement of the material, explanation (casual and motivational judgments), declarations of the "significance" of particular events or persons.

quire despotic government by an exceptional person. (Viz., Bonaparte).

2. HIPPOLYTE TAINÉ: The French Revolution was a failure and a disaster because the men who conceived it and directed it were seduced by an oversimplified, defective, and insufficiently informed philosophy.

3. PIERRE GAXOTTE and F. FUNCK-BRENTANO: The French Revolution destroyed a stable, prosperous, legitimate, and comparatively equitable regime because of the extravagant philosophy of its leaders and the unreasonable and exaggerated complaints of the ignoble classes.

4. AULARD: The French Revolution was a wonderful demonstration of the democratic and patriotic genius of the French middle and lower classes. Betrayed by corruptionists into the hands of a dictator (Bonaparte), it inspired and foreshadowed the great Third Republic.

5. JAURES, MATHIEZ, and LEFEBVRE: The French Revolution was a class struggle arising from the growth of French capitalism, during which the bourgeoisie smashed the aristocratic monarchy and social order and established a state which it could control and which served its interests.

6. HEINRICH VON SYBEL: The French Revolution showed the contemptible indiscipline of the French character (or *Geist*) and its inability to govern itself effectively and constructively. (The author was a German.)

It is easy for those outside this field of scholarship to imagine the powerful books which may be built around these themes, using factual information derived from research, and it is also easy to see how each of these writers developed an interpretation consistent with his own views, his nationality, his party affiliation, his social status, and the experience of the generation in which he shared. Doubtless, too, more personal elements and subtle influences, including those lying below the level of consciousness, played a part along with rational processes of choice in determining the interpretation developed by each.

Aulard, for example, formulated his own views during the germinal period of the Third Republic, and especially in the heat of the Dreyfus Affair (1898-1906). As a partisan of the *bloc républicain* against its conservative enemies, he tended to glorify the Jacobin Revolution of 1793-1794, while deprecating certain excesses of the Reign of Terror, which he attributed to Robespierre, who became one of his villains.

The work of Gaxotte and Funck-Brentano reflects the bitter nostalgia of French aristocratic society during the 1920's, conscious of the

final disappearance of all hopes for a royal and aristocratic restoration.

Jaurès was impressed with the growth of industry, finance capitalism, trade unions, and working-class socialism during the period 1890-1914, and this sense of the visible rise of capitalism in France, coupled with a fine humanitarian sentiment, led him naturally to Marxism. Mathiez seems to have developed his Marxist interpretation out of a preoccupation with the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 (and personal considerations well known in the profession). Lefebvre's Marxism was no doubt affected by the Great Depression of the 'thirties, which seemed to indicate the final collapse of capitalism.

The Marxist interpretation currently prevails. M. Lefebvre, now an octogenarian and undoubtedly the most gifted, imaginative, and precise historian of any school ever to have written on the subject, presides over the French reviews with a fine sense of equity, discernment, and toleration, and distributes professional salvation or damnation to applicants for scholarly recognition. It must be said of him that, although a committed Marxist, he has demonstrated great facility in revising the class-struggle theory so as to bring it into agreement with new evidence emerging from research (which is seemingly interminable). Thanks to the triumph of Marxism in the French profession, we have the same tradition ascendant among American historians in this field. The textbooks on the Revolution published by Gottschalk and Gershoy seem to have assured American treatment of the subject as a "bourgeois revolution," and it is spoken of in that fashion in nearly every survey text on modern European history.

On grounds of logic alone, the practice of interpretation would seem to be subject to one sovereign rule. It is simply that every comment upon the evidence, every summary, every generalization, every explanation must agree with all the verified data. No statement contradicted by fact can be permitted to stand. Even implications or insinuations of propositions contrary to fact (as in the specious selection and arrangement of material or in a cleverly framed question) are to be exposed and discarded. Furthermore, many interpretations of a single event compete for recognition and acceptance, and it may be that evidence remains insufficient to disprove all but one of them, in which case one must admit that those passing the test of security remain possibly true, even though in conflict with one another.

An interpretation is comprised of three elements: first, a theory of causation; second, a concept of pattern; and third, a sense of purpose

or direction in the movement of events. The causal elements in interaction constitute a pattern, however diverse, and the pattern of causes and consequences is seen to display the purpose.

When one tries to determine to his own satisfaction what counts as causal in history, he finds himself in the midst of a discussion begun over a hundred years ago. The disagreement continues. Some scholars have stressed the preponderant or even determining role of a single category of events, such as the economic, or the geographical-climatic, or the national, or even racial traits of a powerful and aggressive people. To the Marxist, all action and belief reflect one's attachment to the social class, so that everything that is done is a more or less successful response to class interest, class organization and interest being determined by economic and physical factors. When all is said and done, one can only state what is obvious, namely, that the field of action comprises a series of human responses to external stimuli and internal compulsions. (Even the pure environmentalist will have to recognize the mind as a way-station in the causal train of events.)

It is easy to write this, but not so easy to indicate the bewildering sweep of phenomena involved in the statement. What are called external stimuli are studied in the so-called "social sciences"—economics, politics, sociology, anthropology, psychology, and all their derivatives, which describe the terms on which men are condemned to live. In recent years historians have, with great success and profit, combined economic studies with the traditional interest in domestic and international politics, and at the present time excursions are being made into sociological and even psychological modes of interpretation. All this demands a versatility not often developed in a single individual. Nevertheless, for the field of the French Revolution this extension of coverage has produced the important researches of Labrousse on eighteenth-century price movements, the work of Marion and Braesch on governmental finance, the studies of Lefebvre, Loutchisky, Bloch and others on land tenure, the work of Festy, Lefebvre, and Sée on agricultural and industrial techniques, and the various monographic materials dealing with monetary inflation, institutional changes, price control, land redistribution, and military reorganization. In a sense which it is impossible briefly to demonstrate, no reliable history of our subject could be written without incorporating the materials of these researchers.

Now in a Christian view of this Revolution, all this material would be relevant. It describes the conditions in the presence of which men choose to do good or evil. It places limitations on human hopes and

expectations, and helps to explain the failure of this enterprise or that. It demonstrates the obstacles that are set up between man and God—abundance of mundane satisfactions to absorb the attentions, patterns of social conduct which discourage behavior of a religious or moral sort, political and religious persecutions, climates of optimism and despair, alterations in work and environment which modify outlook and habit. None of this, we believe, is unknown to the Biblical concept of man. Furthermore, it contributes to that wide range of understanding which is the aim of Christian scholarship. But we must emphasize that we do not expect complete satisfaction in this area of learning. No purely environmentalist or mechanistic concept of history will be acceptable under Christian postulates. For one thing, the "internal compulsions" which we have mentioned count for a great deal, and for another thing the various causal developments—economic, political, social, diplomatic, and even physical and meteorological—combine so intricately, seem so complex, yield such an unassimilable mass of data, that no complete comprehension will ever be possible. Indeed, this intricacy constitutes one of the "areas of unaccountability" which we shall describe at a later point.

By "internal compulsions," we mean those promptings from the interior at which psychologists guess on the basis of their investigations, and which would seem to determine differences in human response to external provocations as well as human acts for which no external provocations can be discovered. Although our readings in psychology are limited, we note that social psychologists frequently draw up tentative lists of motivations and discuss motivation-patterns with great interest. In addition, we have the entire Freudian tradition, the social implications of which have been recently extended by Erich Fromm and Karen Horney, setting before us a chart of the mind peopled with strange and even animalistic forces, which conceal themselves from discovery even as they struggle for mastery over "the will."

History has not made much use of this disconcerting and often frightening lore. And yet it would be an error to suppose that historians have had nothing to say about psychology. Psychology is always implied in what they write, and sometimes expressly discussed. When, for example, a historian presents Mirabeau as a person motivated entirely by ambition, he is making a psychological judgment (and a poor one). When a historian discusses the character of Louis XVI, and the peculiar limitations that had so much to do with his failure and his death, he is making a psychological judgment. When a historian speaks



of various leaders and groups as manifesting "bourgeois" attitudes and patterns of action, he is making a psychological judgment. Probably professional history has more to learn from a reading of the psychological literature than from any other domain of knowledge, for the range of motivations recognized as valid in most histories is rather narrow—considerations of party advantage, national patriotism, religious faith, economic advantage, and (occasionally) social conditioning. In the field of revolutionary studies, some very impressive psychological analyses have already been produced, particularly by Lefebvre in his detailed study of the Great Fear and in his superb essay on "Revolutionary Mobs," wherein he discusses the bewildering variety of motives, rational and irrational, displayed by the rioting crowds of 1789. We think too that the several studies of C. Crane Brinton in this field have displayed a good deal of keen psychological insight.

Now if professional history is prepared to recognize the relevancy of the internal impulsions identified (however uncertainly) by psychology, the Christian historian has an additional interest which springs from his faith. In the Christian view of man, it is the individual, not the mass, that is important. It is not the entirety of men that is judged, but rather each individual in his own self. Moreover, it would be a grotesque disfiguration of Christian belief to suppose that men are motivated entirely through external elements which impinge upon their consciousness. The confrontation of a man with his Creator, for example, is an internal and not an external event. Finally, we see in all this psychological literature a striking accord with the Christian doctrine of the sinful nature of man. Whatever Freud may have said about religion as a troublesome burden upon the mind, he did succeed in making it abundantly clear that the doctrine of the "natural goodness of man," which has proved so formidable a barrier to faith in recent times, is simply another eighteenth-century fable. To the Christian, therefore, these tabulations of motivation "ring true," and suggest the assessment of human nature with which the Bible, and particularly the New Testament, is pervaded.

We think, therefore, that a Christian history of the French Revolution would be distinguished by the large and hospitable recognition it would accord to psychological learning in all its branches—behavioristic, Gestalt, Freudian, and social. It is, of course, no longer possible to psychoanalyze men of other times, and it would be foolish to pretend otherwise. The major change that follows from this shift of emphasis is a difference in one's "feel" for human nature, his knowledge that the

avowed reasons for an act are often wrong or secondary, that a character is molded in part by obscure domestic events of his infancy and childhood, and that action patterns seen later in life have something to do with one's early relations with his parents, or with traumatic experiences over which the consciousness has since drawn a veil.

The most conspicuous result of this altered "feel" for human nature is to destroy the belief that men are fundamentally uniform, even within a given social or national category, and that to explain the action of a given individual it suffices to know the social category to which he belongs. We concede at once that in so far as the assumption of human uniformity is outlawed, all our problems of interpretation become more complex, indeed hopelessly so, but in the explanation of a given act or attitude or intention we think we are on more "realistic" ground.

Among other things, we are less inclined to "heroize" or to "demonize" historical discussion than we would otherwise have been. All men are imperfect and obliged to do at least some wrong. On the other hand, all men have at least the capacity for doing good, whether that capacity is awakened or not. We anticipate that many who attempt to do good end by accomplishing the contrary because of their imperfections and their faults. Our attitude toward such persons is one of sympathy and sorrow, not of condemnation. The Christian is scripturally forbidden to pronounce a condemnation. He must regard all the miserable population of his little story as suffering men, deserving of compassion rather than judgment. Now compassion leads not to approval but to understanding, for the only manner in which an historical personage can be understood is for the historian to undertake a momentary exercise of the imagination in which he temporarily assumes in his own mind the identity of the person to be understood, and proceeds to surround himself with all the cares, anxieties, temptations, troubles and necessities of the person to be understood. Only in such a conjectural operation does the conduct of an individual become credible. Seen from this point of view, the Christian appraisal of an historical personage becomes intimate rather than "judgmental," and leads to an analysis which is in a special and important way "plausible" rather than contrived.

Our theory of causation, therefore, conceives of a field of human activities modified by external circumstances and comprehensible (though not predictable) through concepts of the social sciences and psychology.



But it is important not to promise too much, and particularly to ourselves. No matter how carefully and completely a "causal field" be reconstructed in an interpretation, there will always remain, we think, an element of "the accidental." Accident is the unpredictable convergence of otherwise unrelated causes contributory to a final result. That is, among the causal elements are certain events concerning which no forecast could have been made, mainly because the data necessary to such a forecast lay beyond reach. Such events as natural disasters (earthquakes, floods, conflagrations, epidemics, droughts) count as inexplicable intrusions of physical and biological phenomena into an otherwise self-sufficient and self-generating fabric of cause and effect. These geophysical, meteorological, and biological happenings disrupt and alter a pattern which in other respects we see as ordered and comprehensible, because it explains itself, because it contains within itself all the motive forces or tendencies necessary to give it motion. Their appearance in an historical development establishes an area of unaccountability and even of mystery which is closed to human analysis. This area of unaccountability seems to us a sort of secluded preserve in which historical surprises are cultivated and wherein analysis is forbidden.

As an instance of such an "accident," we offer the sudden hail-storm which preceded the grain harvest of 1788, destroyed a substantial proportion of the crop, and assured the famine and the popular disorders of the following spring. "If bread had been cheap," writes Lefebvre, "the brutal intervention of the people, which was indispensable to assure the destruction of the old regime, would perhaps not have occurred, and the bourgeoisie would have triumphed less easily."<sup>10</sup> An unpredictable and unaccountable fact, therefore, of enormous significance, of which no historian can trace the origin.

As a second instance of "accident," we offer the peculiar personality of Louis XVI, that generous and serious but indecisive man, who contributed gravely to the course of events. No doubt much of what we call his character (for want of a better word) was the result of his conditioning, particularly in point of religious piety and attachment to royal absolutist tradition. But it would be foolish to ignore his slowness of wit and comprehension, and his tendency toward clumsy corpulence which combined to invest him with a sense of inferiority, boredom with office, preference for hunting and for mechanical hobbies, and a fatal capacity for choosing unfortunate ministers and advisers. To see the importance of this situation, we have only to ask ourselves whether

<sup>10</sup>G. Lefebvre, *Documents relatifs à l'histoire des subsistances dans le district de Bergues (1788-an V)* (2 vols., Lille and Paris, 1914-1921), I, xxxviii.

the Revolution would have gotten very far in the reign of Louis XIV, Henri IV, or Frederick II. Now the explanation of these two handicaps, of mentality and of appearance, demands a genealogical investigation of great care, and, beyond the genealogy, some genetic research of an impossible character. Genetics itself might have established the odds in favor of the birth of a man with such limitations (were all barriers to investigation set aside), but any absolute prediction would have been unwarranted, and particularly the absolute prediction that such a person would have been born as heir to the throne.

This realm of "accident" or mystery, we think, extends also to the ordinary turmoil of decision making, which political history has got to register. Given the present state of our psychological knowledge, no completely mechanistic theory of behavior has yet been achieved in which all of one's decisions are determined by external events, so that the decision of one man in a given situation would be expected to agree with that of another. The mechanistic view of human nature remains a hope of the behaviorists rather than a demonstrated fact, and it is because in Soviet Russia the theory of human unanimity is needed to make the Stalinist ideology succeed that Pavlovian behaviorism has been decreed sovereign, the Freudian school having been banished or driven underground. It is our impression and belief that the individual remains capable of presenting some unexpected responses or surprises both to the psychologist and to the totalitarian clique. (These surprises will be denied by the Soviet psychologist and punished by the Soviet state, with no loss of assurance by either.) Such a view seems to us consistent not only with Christian belief but also with psychological knowledge.

Confronted with these areas of unaccountability or accident or chance, one finds himself obliged to adopt one of four concepts of causal pattern. Either history is an assemblage of ill-assorted developmental strands (social and economic development, international rivalries, quiet genetic combination patterns producing weak kings, and unchartable cloud systems in motion producing hail storms), working aimlessly and purposelessly to yield all kinds of surprises; or history is governed by a deterministic interrelationship between events of which we have not grasped the essential explicatory principle, in which case the secret may be sought either in science or in faith, or it will never be discovered at all because of the limitations of the human mind; or history is permitted to grow and "happen" in its own way, but from time to time the self-determining system is altered by an external and pur-

poseful intervention; or else men freely make history within the scope of environmental limitations, but are punished for all acts that violate governing principles of a moral order. Of these concepts, the third and fourth can logically be combined; and by an extension of reason, which would demand much charity from a theologian, they can be made to agree with the second.<sup>11</sup>

The first of these four concepts may be called anarchic, and it is widely held. It permits of a comprehensive discussion of past events but no discussion whatsoever of the future. No Christian can sustain it except upon the assumption that God has turned his back upon man or is dead, having died long ago, as Nietzsche said, of a broken heart (both assumptions being inadmissible).

The second concept is deterministic or necessitarian, and it has been given expression by both Christians and non-Christians. A non-Christian determinist sees the chain of cause and effect as a demonstration of the order of the universe, and may or may not hope that reason can comprehend the system sufficiently to permit of prediction. A Christian determinist would conceive of history as a foreordained chain of cause and effect entirely foreknown and foreseen by God at the moment of the Creation. What we know of it, we know by revelation, but the remainder is comprehensible only imperfectly, if at all.

The third alternative, involving an occasional intervention, cannot be accepted by a materialist. It presupposes the existence of an omnipotent Being, willing to accord man sufficient autonomy for the accomplishment of a purpose divinely conceived, but unwilling to permit the final triumph of what is forbidden. Such a Being would have unlimited power to intervene in human affairs and enterprises, but would suspend the full or total exercise of that power in order to leave some free will in the hands of man. The intervention might be accomplished either through direct influence over the minds of men, or through subtle and effective manipulation of the multifarious circumstances which prompt human action (as in the hailstorm that led to the famine that assured the Revolution).

The fourth view constitutes a general expression of either classic tragedy or Biblical irony, according as one wishes to fill in the equation. In either scheme, suffering is the merited consequence of wrong and

<sup>11</sup>That is, history may be predetermined, and one may accept predetermination on grounds of faith; yet he cannot grasp the deterministic system in its entirety, so that he is left to deal with a pattern which *appears* to contain an element of freedom. History "makes sense" to him only as it supposes limited free will, and it is the conception comprehensible to one's mind with which one concerns himself in forming temporal judgments.

presumptuous acts, and the historian is obliged to observe that the suffering is marked by a certain solidarity, in which the innocent receive punishment with the guilty, and the wrongs of fathers are visited upon many generations. In short, a collective responsibility is implied. (Wives and daughters of aristocrats and terrorists perish with the men, and the little son of Louis XVI dies pitifully in prison from torment and mistreatment.)

Given these last three concepts of pattern, it becomes possible to suggest that for the Christian there can be no historical accident. The accidental is the casual area wherein operates a divine Intelligence or Purpose which is said to be, among other things, Lord of History. But in what sense Lord of History? The phrase is easier to pronounce than to make explicit. Whatever happens, happens by God's will, but however this may be accomplished, the vision of the Christian historian is restricted. He finds himself frequently surprised and disconcerted. He perceives in the broad canvas of the record of his civilization a dim sense of divine purpose without fully grasping all details of the process whereby the purpose is realized. He learns enough, that is, to make him humble and responsible, but not enough, we think, to make him immoderate and reckless. Above all, he must avoid the temptation rashly to confer God's favors upon a particular party or sect or nation. The boast "Gott mit uns!" written by German troops during the First World War, received a terrible and ironic refutation, and during the American Civil War the commanders of both Northern and Southern troops publicly attributed their victories (and perhaps correctly) to the same Deity.

In other words, the Christian approach to the study of the French Revolution must be one of humility and restraint. There can be for us no dogmatic claims of perfect and detailed understanding. What we have is a Christian historical temperament, and not a Christian historical calculus.

What difference does this temperament make in application?

It implies, as we have said, a careful and scrupulous type of scholarship, capable of correcting all erroneous *a priori* notions.

It implies also a broad range of consideration, in the scope of which the concepts of psychology and the social sciences would have a place.

It means a sympathetic and understanding treatment of all men and all groups, the objective being to understand rather than to judge.

Finally, it provokes a stronger interest in the defeats of history than in the victories. Everyone knows that the history of France since 1789

displays a series of turning-points (or crises, or climactic events) which seem naturally to mark off certain segments of the narrative as self-contained chapters. Such are the dates 1789, 1792, 1794, 1799, 1814, 1815, 1830, 1848, 1851, 1870, 1940, and 1944. On each of these occasions, it was suddenly and sensationally made obvious that a new cause or movement or party had triumphantly installed itself in the governing places of national life, along with its hopes and its traditions. Now on the whole, though not entirely, historians are overly impressed with success and overly neglectful of failure, because success makes a better story than failure. Triumph is emphasized, therefore, while defeat is neglected. Those historians who approve the change in question speak of it as a victory, conceived in just and glorious necessity, while those who deplore the change describe it as a victory born of foul and sinful conspiracy.

What is bound to impress the Christian historian in this record of unstable and transitory French political experiments is that in the end all of them came to shipwreck. And he is bound to seek explanations for these shipwrecks, not only in the rise of competitive movements but also in the internal weaknesses, errors, and misdirection contributory to the collapse. Each of these transfers of power appears to us as a judgment of the fallen rather than as a vindication of the triumphant, and we are prompted thereby to inquire whether each of these enterprises did not display certain self-destructive tendencies, and whether these self-destructive tendencies did not reflect errors and shortcomings long known and comprehended under the Christian definition of sin.

Now this emphasis of interest in the checks and checkmates of history arises quite naturally out of two areas of reflection, spiritual and temporal. On the one hand, one's faith leads him to suspect that undertakings originating in pride or cupidity ultimately destroy themselves. Otherwise Hell triumphs and the Gospel makes no sense. And on the other hand, all the historical testimony of this century serves to expose the illusion of mundane success and of increasing mundane security, with which, until recently, it has been possible to console and even to inspire ourselves. Faith and reason alike reject the idea of progress as it has been formulated since the Renaissance. Whether there can be a Christian doctrine of mundane progress is a question deserving of a serious answer. No doubt theology has a solution to this problem, but at the moment we have none. At any rate, we are satisfied that no Christian doctrine of mundane progress could assume a purely secularized "reason" or "science" as a motive force. In order to become truly

sufficient to human needs, reason must be subordinated to the tutelage of the Revelation.

Niebuhr has recently written a book on the American people, in which he calls attention to the "ironies" of our present situation.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the atomic weapons we have developed out of our technology have fallen into the hands of those who would like to use them for our subjugation. Such ideas as justice and freedom, essential components of our heritage, have been appropriated by adversaries who have altered them so as to show us as neither just nor free. We believe ourselves most plentifully provided with the instruments of power, but we see no way in which we can use those instruments for what we conceive as good. On any comparative basis, our record of "imperialism" has yet been innocent, and yet we are compelled for the defense of our own values to intervene in the affairs of other peoples in such a way that we incur (in the judgment of other men) the "guilt" of imperialism. Having gone further than any other nation in reducing the environment to our uses and necessities, we find ourselves less free, less emancipated from the control of external circumstance, than in the infancy of our history.

Many further contradictions are adduced to demonstrate a situation which is called neither pathetic nor tragic but ironic, and irony is distinguished from the other two terms in the following passage:

An ironic situation is distinguished from a pathetic one by the fact that a person involved in it bears some responsibility for it. It is distinguished from a tragic one by the fact that the responsibility is not due to a conscious choice but to an unconscious weakness . . . The Christian preference for an ironic interpretation is derived not merely from its conception of the nature of human freedom, according to which man's transcendence over nature endows him with great creative possibilities which are, however, not safe against abuse and corruption. It is also derived from its faith that life has a center and source of meaning beyond the natural and social sequences which may be rationally discerned. This divine source and center must be discerned by faith because it is enveloped in mystery, though being the basis of meaning. So discerned, it yields a frame of meaning in which human freedom is real and valid and not merely tragic or illusory. But it is also recognized that man is constantly tempted to overestimate the degree of his freedom and forget that he is also a creature. Thus he becomes involved in pretensions which result in ironic refutations of his pride.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>12</sup>Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Irony of American History* (New York, 1952).

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 166-168.



We think that a Christian interpretation of the French Revolution would follow essentially the scheme that Niebuhr has traced here, and that the capital problem considered in a Christian history of that event would be that the hopes and expectations of revolutionary factions, though nobly conceived, were bitterly rewarded with contradictory results. Each reversal would seem to us to have the character of a rebuke. And we should seek the explanation for it not only in multifarious "external circumstances" but also, and most appropriately, in the errors, self-deceptions, and pretensions cultivated by the reformers themselves.

## Bishop Frederic Dan Huntington As I Knew Him

By A. L. Byron-Curtiss\*



HE greatest character I've ever met was not a gardener or an artisan. He was not a doctor or a lawyer or a merchant, but a priest, and more than a priest; he was a prelate of the Church. He was Frederic Dan Huntington, for thirty-five years bishop of the diocese of Central New York. Born at Hadley, Massachusetts, on May 28, 1819, he was of unblemished Puritan background and principles, with a reserve of Puritan prejudices, traces of which were discernable even in the last years of his life. But he possessed such a profound mind, and his addresses, pontificals and orations were so far-reaching and all-embracing, often portentous and prophetic in character, with a discernment of the common and mundane demands of life, that we all loved, revered and esteemed him in spite of his few crotchets.

Originally a Unitarian, he speedily became a shining light in the groups of religious and social philosophers in and around Boston. Unitarianism, humorously defined as "The Fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man and the environs of Boston," was focused and discernible at its best at Harvard. There, only thirteen years after finishing his classical course at Amherst and his course in theology at the Harvard Divinity School, Dr. Huntington became in 1855 Plummer professor of Christian ethics and religion, and special college preacher. He preached the sermon at the opening of Appleton Chapel, and traces of thought indicating progress towards Trinitarianism were discernible in this sermon. In 1858, he published a volume of sermons containing a sermon on "Threefold Grace of the Holy Trinity"; thus his complete acceptance of this ancient and Catholic dogma was indicated.

Dr. Huntington's analytical mind and his intense sincerity were shown by the course he followed on his break with Unitarianism. There were a number of orthodox Christian bodies in and around Boston that would have received him without quibble. They would have ig-

\*The Rev. Arthur Lester Byron-Curtiss was ordained both deacon and priest by Bishop Huntington, and served under him in the diocese of Central New York.  
—Editor's note.



nored any possible irregularity in his Unitarian ordination formula, given him a charge, and placed him in a position for preferment in their denomination. Instead, he and Mrs. Huntington, and two of their children old enough for the rite, were confirmed in a regular class in one of the parish churches of Boston. He became a candidate for holy orders in the diocese of Massachusetts, and began the deliberate and slow progress provided in the canons for attaining to the office of presbyter in the Anglican Church. This young man, who had been in great demand as a preacher in the churches in and around Boston, preached no sermons for the six months he was a candidate for holy orders! Even on his ordination to the diaconate, on September 12, 1860, Bishop Eastburn, a somewhat irascible Englishman, gave him reluctant permission "to preach sermons." Dr. Huntington had received no encouragement from Bishop Eastburn to affiliate with the Anglican Church, telling him he could do more good where he was in his honored and strategic place at Harvard. But Dr. Huntington, as the writer can testify from his long contact with him as his bishop, was not a man to confine his mind, his ideals or his outlook to his own day and generation.

During the year and a half that intervened between Dr. Huntington's becoming a candidate for holy orders and his final ordination as a presbyter, March 19, 1861, he was busy gathering a flock for a new parish, holding services in a hall, and aggressively doing the grubbing pastoral work demanded of any successful parochial enterprise. The need for a parish in the new Back Bay district of Boston was felt, a nucleus was ready, with people from other cures moving to the new part, and with converts from Unitarianism, who were drawn by Dr. Huntington's own affiliation with Anglicanism on his break with the Unitarian groups. The parish was organized as Emmanuel Church, and the handsome church with stone facings was built; it is still functioning today as a cure of over a thousand communicants, which of itself implies four or five thousand souls looking to this parish for their spiritual ministrations.

For years after Dr. Huntington became bishop of Central New York, there was a plethora of Emmanuel churches in the diocese, mostly small stations. It is explained by the fact that when a new work was opened and organized, if it was left to the bishop to select a name of a saint or a Christian virtue or quality, he invariably chose the name of his first love: Emmanuel Church, Boston. There are four cures so named now.

Dr. Huntington was consecrated in his own parish church in Boston, April 8, 1869.<sup>1</sup> Without undue delay, he went to his diocese and began his initial official visits to the parishes and missions. The diocese, then as now, consisted of about a third which were self-supporting parishes, the remainder being mission stations or aided parishes. Of course, the total number was much less than now. The summer of 1869 was pleasant and ideal, and he was surprised and inspired as he drove about, visiting the rural stations. For the land sang and laughed a gleeful welcome to the New Englander. In those more simple and leisurely days, the bishop's visitations were often made on weekday afternoons; and the bishop's personality made him speedily famous in rural villages and country lanes. One example will suffice for illustration. Business brought a stranger to the village of Clinton. He was amazed to find every hitching post and tying rack in use, the horses attached to every conceivable rig, from buggies to democrat wagons. Upon asking the reason, he was told: "Why Bishop Huntington is preaching at the Episcopal church this afternoon!" The stranger found further proof that the visit of the bishop was an event when he found

<sup>1</sup>The large accessions to the Episcopal Church from conversions is illustrated by a graphic story told by Henry Codman Potter, a great bishop of New York, in his book, *Reminiscences of Bishops and Archbishops* (pp. 68-69), in connection with Dr. Huntington's consecration as first bishop of Central New York:

"It was at the bishop's [Eastburn's] table, on the evening of the consecration, as Bishop of Central New York, of the late Dr. Frederic Dan Huntington. On Bishop Eastburn's right sat Bishop Clark of Rhode Island, Bishop Coxe of Western New York, and Bishop Randall of Colorado; and on his left Bishop Horatio Potter of New York, Bishop Littlejohn of Long Island, and Bishop Huntington of Central New York. As secretary of the House of Bishops, I was at the foot of the table, and was the only presbyter present. When dinner was concluded, the bishop [Eastburn] rose in his place, and, holding a glass of wine in his hand, said, after a few words of affectionate reference to the newly consecrated bishop, 'Brethren, I wish to propose his health'; and then, after an instant's pause, 'and I am the only man at this table who has a right to do it, for'—running his eye round the table until it had included in its sweep every bishop present—"I am the only born Churchman among you!" I remember well the startled pause that followed; but he was right. Bishop Clark had been born a Congregationalist; Bishop Coxe a Presbyterian; Bishop Randall a Baptist; Bishop Horatio Potter a Quaker; Bishop Littlejohn a Presbyterian; and Bishop Huntington a Unitarian."

But the story is even more significant than even Bishop Potter suggested. True, Bishop Eastburn was born a Churchman, but he was not an American born Churchman; he was born in England! Here then were seven bishops at one time and place, no one of whom was an American Churchman born, the term "Churchman" in those days being synonymous with a member of the Episcopal Church, and not appropriated by members of other churches as is often the case today.

several of his listed stores closed, the proprietors having gone to hear the bishop too.

The bishop's sermons were profound, searching and solid, more academic than hortatory. They would be overlong today, and a bit top-heavy with ponderosity. But as I see it, there was a holdover in that period of the old lyceum days of lectures on deep subjects. People paid stiff fees to hear a lecture of an hour, or even two hours, in length! The lecturers, too, received goodly sums for their concentrated wisdom. Bishop Huntington himself, in his early manhood, earned sufficient from his lyceum lectures to purchase the interests of his brothers and sisters in the old homestead at Hadley.

An achievement of Bishop Huntington's early years in the episcopate was the organization of institutions, both academic and benevolent: in Syracuse, Keble School for girls; the House of the Good Shepherd Hospital, and the Shelter for Wayward Girls. This last evolved into a semi-penal institution recognized by the civil courts, and judges assigned girls there with a Protestant background, as the code provides. The Shelter was successful in its help to save wayward girls. Of this the writer has ample personal knowledge. Active in humane work during his years as an incumbent of St. Joseph's mission in Rome, he was the means through which a total of seven girls were assigned to the Shelter by the municipal or county judges of Oneida County. All seven were graciously rehabilitated during a period of residence at the Shelter, which nursed the wounded souls of these girls until the wounds had healed. Other institutions founded by the bishop were St. John's School, Manlius; and the House of the Good Shepherd Home for Aged Women, Binghamton.

In common with several great and superior men I have known personally, good Bishop Huntington was quick and penetrating in his repartee; sometimes caustic. Long ago I decided that such men are probably completely unaware of what might appear as arrogance in their retorts. They live in a world of their own, and are quite unaware of the occasional sting of mortification, chagrin or resentment in the heart of the one to whom their remarks are directed. Here are a few of the bishop's retorts, of the legions he imparted to his associates.

The writer once sputtered to him about the distractions he had, from the quarrels and jangles of his mixed vested choir in the vestry just before service, and ended by saying: "I wish the choir was in the loft, Bishop." Quick as a flash he said, "Remember the devil would get in the loft, too!"

At a convocation meeting of the Fourth District in Christ Church, Oswego, the dean had just called the business meeting to order when the bishop came down the aisle, his "old man's shawl" wrapper around his shoulders. The dean stood up immediately and said: "Bishop will you preside?" The bishop's retort was: "I would if I wanted to, but I don't care to!" And he sat down in a front pew, and that was that!

The Rev. Dr. George C. Foley of the Philadelphia Divinity School told me this one. At a meeting of the House of Bishops, Bishop Huntington was asked by someone who evidently did not know the bishop's ways, why he did not wear one of the academic hoods for one of the many degrees he held; the bishop explained thus: "For nigh onto thirty years I have worn the Magpie which I loathe, but I'll be switched if I'll wear the Flamingo."

This brings up the matter of the bishop's churchmanship. No principle of churchmanship was indicated in his dislike of the chimere, "the rest of the Episcopal habit," as the Prayer Book expresses it. Rather it was his dislike of the gloomy character of the garment. The bishop's churchmanship was similar to that of a vast number of our people of the period. Convinced of the Anglican Church's antiquity and Apostolic character, they spelled "Church" with a capital "C," and stopped there. I doubt if seventy years ago there were six cures in Central New York with candles on the holy tables. A slogan of that bundle of energy, Bishop John Henry Hobart, to the effect that "the Church is the Church of the living God and cannot die," was the inspiration of two generations of propagandists of the Episcopal Church. Agitation over the six points of ritual, and the practice of them, had scarcely begun when Bishop Huntington began his episcopate. When they did intrude in later years, they were a source of irritation and annoyance to the great man, with an occasional example of summary action on his part.

The classic example is probably his blowing out the candles burning on the altar of our church at Fulton on an occasion of his visitation there. A young deacon, who was in charge, had persuaded a parishioner to give a pair of Eucharistic candlesticks as a memorial. The bishop had arranged his visitation on a Sunday morning that he might celebrate the Eucharist as well as administer the rite of Confirmation. Knowing the bishop's aversion to such things, the young deacon said just before the service was to begin: "You know, Bishop, it is a little dark in the sanctuary, and I have lighted the candles so you can see all right." The bishop said nothing; the choir in the loft began the hymn; they entered the chancel, the deacon to a prayer desk in the

chancel, and the bishop on into the sanctuary and to the holy table. The choir had not gotten to the last verse of the hymn before the bishop deliberately blew out the two burning tapers, and then, imperiously beckoning the young deacon to him, said: "I can see all right; you don't need to light them again." Many years later, I asked the young deacon, then a venerable cleric of the diocese, about the incident, and he gave it to me about as above. He also acknowledged that if he had been frank, and told the bishop that the Eucharistic lights were a memorial, the bishop would probably have tolerated the burning candles. But he was not going to let any young deacon put any such subterfuge over on him.

He tolerated a lot of ritual embellishments at old St. Joseph's Church in Rome, which the writer maintained there, but probably because he was making a go of the work which the bishop had despaired of saving when in 1894 he appointed the writer in charge. By the combined efforts of the bishop and the incumbent, the last of the debt was paid off, and the building was consecrated four years later, 1898. Yet the only request the bishop made of the writer was that yeast bread be provided for the celebration of the Holy Communion on that occasion. There was an even score of candles burning on the high altar, and a full complement of well-trained acolytes bowing, moving about, and genuflecting after the canon of the Eucharist, and a master of ceremonies—all wearing red cassocks—and the dear old bishop did not appear to be annoyed by it at all.

This matter of the kind of bread used in the Sacred Mysteries was cleared as an issue by two actions of the bishop. To the consternation of some of us, he issued to the clergy a letter in which he practically forbade the use of unleavened bread in celebrating the Eucharist. There were probably fully a score of clergy, if not more, who used the unleavened bread. What to do was a question. I hurried from Rome to see the rector of St. George's Church, Utica, the Rev. W. B. Coleman, to advise with him. We at once got in touch with the rector of St. Paul's Church, Owego. The dear old rector, Father Kidder, was one of the pioneer Catholic-minded clergy of the diocese, who, with the Rev. Dr. W. T. Gibson, of Utica, had withstood the bishop "face to face," as it were, a great many years before, for issuing some such letter as was now confronting us, and all because they had celebrated a Requiem Eucharist in connection with the funeral of a brother priest held from Grace Church, Utica. From the pontifical on the Requiem Eucharist, a copy of which the writer once possessed, the bishop, I gather, was much disturbed by "this sacramental funeral," as

he called it. The Rev. Dr. Gibson and Father Kidder had impelled the bishop to recede from his position of condemnation of "sacramental funerals." The Rev. Dr. Gibson was dead, but Father Kidder, though aged, was alive and alert on this occasion of jeopardizing the liberty to use either yeast bread or bread made without leaven, both of which are valid. Father Kidder's advice was so simple, yet withal so wise, one wonders that it was not thought of long before we had to resort to it.

A portion of unleavened bread was submitted to a reliable chemist for analysis, who reported that bread made without yeast was truly and properly bread, and if eaten in sufficient quantity would sustain life. When this report was given to the bishop, he accepted its inevitable conclusions and at once issued another letter to the clergy, recalling his letter of a few weeks previous. We had hit on the crux of the matter as it had disturbed him. The great and good man had not believed that "wafers" were bread. No wonder he was disturbed, dismayed and unhappy over the increased use of such bread in the Eucharist. Yet how free of guile and malice he was, is shown in the promptness with which he rescinded his first letter! One of the memorial sermons preached in the diocese after the bishop's passing mentioned this, and Miss Aria Huntington in her book of her father's life deemed it of sufficient insight into the bishop's character to quote from the sermon with approval. He receded from his position of believing that unleavened bread was invalid, once he was convinced that it was bread, as readily as he had proceeded to accept the Anglican Church, once he was convinced of the validity of its claims to Apostolic character.

This leads the writer to speak again of the bishop's great, profound and penetrating mind, illustrated by the following incident. I do not think he ever used a telephone in his life. There was none in the episcopal residence in Syracuse until his daughter Aria became so busy with what is called today Social Service work in the city that one had to be installed to enable her to keep in touch with her many activities. But unless there was a member of the family in the house to answer its ring, or one of the servants, it was ignored. In place of it, the bishop used his students of divinity to take his notes and communications all over the city. Each had a particular day to report to his study to receive a packet of these missives and start out for a walk of several miles delivering them. On an occasion in the late autumn of 1892, I reported for this duty. The bishop had but recently returned from the General Convention at Baltimore. I had never learned to keep still while waiting for him to finish a note or otherwise get the sheaf of missives ready. So on this occasion, as he moistened the flap



of an envelope and sealed it and proceeded to address it, I said: "Did you have a pleasant time at the General Convention, Bishop?" He answered, "If you call listening to a lot of silly, idle and empty speeches a pleasant time, I did." It must be borne in mind that he was speaking of his spiritual peers in this retort; for the House of Bishops then met behind closed doors.

I reflected maybe a year on this rather strange expression of his opinion of the speeches of his fellow bishops in the always executive sessions of their official meetings, and ultimately came to this conclusion, which is probably approximately correct. His keen and penetrating mind saw at once how a question would be decided if it was decided right; but small minds had to thrash it out and clarify it in debate. Listening to the speeches made, when he had already seen how the issue would terminate, was pain and grief to him. It probably made him "squirm and writhe," an expression I heard him use many times in speaking of some disagreeable course or position he had to take. Yet this same intellect and delicate balance of mentality aids in explaining the weighty character of his published utterances. I've often thought on reading his published sermons of how an average clergyman could take a single sentence or a small paragraph and elaborate a sermon of his own from that alone.

I will close this part of my sketch of Bishop Huntington with an example of the strength of his personality and the depth of his spirituality extending down the years. My ordination as a deacon took place in St. Paul's Church, Syracuse, December 20, 1892. Forty years later, I mentioned this epochal day of my life in Christmas cards as follows: "To my Christmas greetings I add thanksgiving to God for the fortieth anniversary of my admission to holy orders by the late Frederic Dan Huntington, Bishop of Central New York," with the dates of the ordination. I posted these folders to all my friends, far more numerous than today. An old man is increasingly alone as his friends pass on! One of these folders went to my friend, Bishop Alexander Mann of Pittsburgh.

The first week in January 1933, I received a kind letter from Bishop Mann, extending felicitations on my anniversary, and adding the following:

"I note you were ordained by the great Bishop Huntington. I was a student at the General Seminary in 1883 when he delivered those wonderful addresses on 'The Personal Christian Life in the Ministry,' and he and the addresses made an impression on me that lingers to this day. As I recall him sitting

in the chancel of the Chapel and reading in his wonderful voice those heart-searching admonitions with the spiritual requirements of the ministry, my heart glows at the recollections. He made us young students ponder what was before us and compelled us to look below the surface of the sacred Profession."

I sent the letter on to Father Huntington, O. H. C.,<sup>2</sup> the bishop's son, as I knew it would please him. He added to his thanks in his letter to me, a request for permission to send it on to his sister, Ruth Huntington Sessions, as an impressive evidence of an appreciation of their father's wonderful place and influence in the Church while living, and this witness to it by another bishop of the Church a half century after. I wrote Father Huntington, saying the letter was his to do with as he deemed best. Eventually I got a letter from Mrs. Sessions, thanking me and saying she was sending it on to her nephew, the Rev. Paul Huntington, the bishop's grandson, then rector at Red Hook, New York.

Therefore, as I think of it all, I realize that Bishop Huntington's place and influence were unique, powerful and far-reaching, and that this sketch by an unworthy servant is but a humble effort to bear witness to the bishop's greatness.

The writer would be sadly remiss if he did not mention and emphasize a marked characteristic of Bishop Huntington, outstanding and frequently expressed all through his life, and which had a positive place in the lives of all the members of his family. It is what is called today "Social Justice," but in the early days of the period of this sketch, it was chiefly discernible by unqualified denunciations of conscious and selfish wealth and a lively sympathy for "God's poor." It was a subject that lay close to the heart and conscience of this great man, as is abundantly proven by the frequency of his reference to it in his public addresses and sermons. It was also impressively emphasized in the early years of this century, when he stood by a young clergyman of his diocese in his espousal of the philosophy of Socialism.

<sup>2</sup>JAMES OTIS SARGENT HUNTINGTON, O. H. C. (July 23, 1854-June 29, 1935) was graduated from Harvard in 1875, and received his formal theological training in St. Andrew's Divinity School, 1876-79. In 1884, at the age of thirty, he founded the Order of the Holy Cross, a monastic community for men. If the American Episcopal Church should ever undertake the formal canonization of saints, Fr. Huntington would be among the very first to be canonized. [See Vida Scudder, *Father Huntington, Founder of the Order of the Holy Cross* (New York, 1940), pp. 375; see also, James Arthur Muller, "Father Huntington and the Beginnings of Religious Orders for Men in the Episcopal Church—A Review," in *HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, X (1941), 312-329.]



With the audacity of youth and the zeal of a new convert to an ideal, the young cleric read a paper before a clericus on "The Church and Socialism," early in 1902. Fortunately, he kept his thesis within the bounds of the Christian Faith. His Socialism was probably more Fabian than Marxian. But in the paper he said: "The Church has failed and is failing in doing its work in the world." At this, a rector of one of the largest parishes in the diocese jumped up and declared that that was "blasphemy against the Holy Ghost." The essayist was allowed to finish his paper, but in the discussion of it no word of appreciation, or the usual fulsome ones of flattering commendation of the care shown in preparation, were uttered. The rector who had denounced the paper before it was finished kept his word, wrote to Bishop Huntington, and preferred charges against the essayist of the occasion. But the young man in his increased loneliness caused by the threatened storm kept his head and beat the good rector at his own course of procedure. On his arrival home, the young man posted the manuscript of his paper to the bishop, explaining in a covering note and begging him as his bishop to tell him frankly if there was anything heretical or unsound in his thesis. The bishop was prompt in his reply:

"I have read your paper and there is nothing in it that is unsound or heretical. I agree heartily with your sentiments as you express them as to the principles and ideals of our holy religion."

This should have ended the matter. But somehow, through the rector's maneuver, the newspapers got hold of it, and it was featured through that medium for a while. On the advice of the bishop, the young cleric kept away from the meetings of the clericus for a year or so, until the ripples on the otherwise placid waters of the clerical meetings died down. The bishop also sent a copy of his letter to the rector who lodged the charge, to the young essayist, in which the following sentence occurred:

"Concerning the expression used by our young brother in his paper to which you take exception and upon which you base your charges, that 'The Church has failed and is failing to do its work in the world.' That surely is proven to be true by the missionary appeals of our own time."

The reader may be surprised when I say that in some respects there was a similarity in mind and mental comprehensiveness between Bishop Huntington and that eccentric character and original thinker,

Henry Thoreau, the intimate friend of Emerson. The Sage of Concord himself said that Thoreau had a far better mind than he himself possessed, and more facility in expressing himself accurately. Thoreau once wrote that democracy was not the last word in human government. In a conversation I had with Bishop Huntington a couple of years before he passed on, when we were discussing the great economic and industrial changes taking place, with their inevitable revolutions in the social order, he said practically the same thing as Thoreau said, only more comprehensively. It was, "The time will come when a social democracy will govern society. Yet Democracy cannot be a finality in human progress either."

Again like Thoreau, the bishop was no great traveler, save as his episcopal duties took him to ecclesiastical gatherings about our nation. For over thirty years, his regular annual trips were not abroad, but between his see city and the old homestead at Hadley where he was born. Not until his advanced years was he persuaded to go abroad; and then for a six months' period, most of which was spent in England, with a brief visit to Paris. And during all his remaining years when my acquaintance with him was the most intimate, I could not see that he got much of any uplift from his trip abroad. But Hadley! There he was as content and happy as it was possible for his great soul to be in this life. Probably its serenity, peace and tranquility, with the hallowed memories of his ancestors, gave the perfect balance to his soul. He went there always a day or two after the annual diocesan convention in early June, and the diocese saw him no more until late September or early October. I always believed the family were packing the things during the two days of the diocesan gathering, and that they started for Hadley the day after the adjournment! The few clergy who visited him there all agreed how the good man seemed to bask in the quietude of the atmosphere of the old "homestead of forty acres," and how he would relate to them, "This is just as it was in the days of my father." As Thoreau said of Concord, the bishop said of the region around Hadley: he saw as great beauties as anywhere in the world.

The last diocesan convention he presided over was held in Zion Church, Rome. His pontifical address was as always serious, with a discussion of important questions of the day. On reading it now in the *Journal* of the Convention for 1904, one cannot but note that it was right up to the standard of his annual allocutions of former years. But his strength was ebbing. He called the Rev. Dr. John Brainard of Auburn, president of the standing committee, to preside occasionally, while he went to the vestry and rested. His not calling on the bishop

coadjutor, the Rt. Rev. C. T. Olmstead,<sup>3</sup> to do this was significant. The fact is that the bishop rather ignored his coadjutor at official meetings. Bishop Olmstead would don his purple silk cassock and his pectoral cross, and sit stiffly beside Bishop Huntington on the chancel platform; but that was all. We clergy, inclined to joke, got to referring to him as "The Right Reverend Appendix." Bishop Olmstead was not a strong personality, and probably Bishop Huntington, if he had any feelings in the matter at all, regarded it as a necessary annoyance, which annoyance he ignored. I have always thought of Bishop Olmstead's twenty years as our diocesan as a sort of stopgap between Bishop Huntington and Bishop Fiske's regime. Bishop Huntington and his family went to Hadley the day after the convention in Rome adjourned. Thus this was the last many of us saw of our great leader and inspirer. For he passed on under his old roof-tree, July 11, 1904, less than a month after he had presided at the convention in Rome.

Somehow I became quite intimate with the bishop's family during the years, both before and after his death; and I continued to visit Mrs. Huntington and her daughters in Syracuse as long as they lived there after the bishop passed on. Mrs. Huntington would graciously say, "Always break bread with us when in town." I cannot explain how it came about, though I have noted that people like to keep in touch with, and seem to get pleasure in continuing the acquaintance of, those who knew a beloved member now with God. Anyway, Miss Aria Huntington included me in the sheaf of telegrams from Northampton notifying us of the bishop's death. It was delivered a bit after supper, I recall. I at once got hold of the sexton of St. Joseph's Church, of which I was then pastor, and set him to tolling the heaviest bell of the two in the tower. I told him to toll it with deliberation as at funerals eighty-five times, and gave him a pad of paper and a fountain pen to keep account of the strokes in units of five to aid him in counting. Ultimately, he signed the paper, I added and signed an explanatory note, and put it in the file of records of the old historic cure. It should be among the records now in custody of Zion Church, Rome, where they were placed on the amalgamation of the parish with Zion Church. A few people called to know why the bell was being tolled. Yet for all the meagerness of this announcement, all Rome seemed to know that the bishop was dead; in less than an hour's time the grapevine method worked in a sacred purpose on that occasion. Even the local newspaper posted a

<sup>3</sup>CHARLES TYLER OLMSTEAD (April 28, 1842—March 26, 1924) was consecrated on October 2, 1902, as bishop coadjutor of Central New York Diocesan, 1904-1924.

bulletin in a window within half an hour after the great bell began its solemn message of the passing of a great man, respected, revered by all, and beloved by those of us to whom he was, by the polity of our Church, our Chief Pastor. To many of us oldsters, too, he was more than a *primus inter pares*. We felt he was superior to us all.

The Rev. Dr. W. D. Wilson,<sup>4</sup> co-founder of Cornell University, was dean of St. Andrew's Divinity School after his retirement from Cornell as professor of moral and intellectual philosophy in 1886. Like Bishop Huntington, Dr. Wilson was a convert from Unitarianism. When Dr. Wilson died in 1900, the *Syracuse Herald* sent a reporter to get Bishop Huntington's estimate of this great educator. And this was the bishop's estimate, appearing boxed in bold-faced type on the front page of the newspaper the next day:

"The Reverend Doctor Wilson was my superior in everything but office."

There, in his humble-mindedness, Frederic Dan Huntington showed his greatness.

<sup>4</sup>WILLIAM DEXTER WILSON (February 28, 1816—July 30, 1900) was born in Stoddard, New Hampshire, and graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1838. After four years as a Unitarian preacher, he was converted to Trinitarian principles, and was ordered deacon in the Episcopal Church, April 7, 1842, by Bishop Griswold of Massachusetts. On September 21, 1847, he was ordained priest by Bishop Hopkins of Vermont.

From 1842 until 1850, Wilson was in charge of Christ Church, Sherburne, New York. For the next eighteen years, 1850-1868, he taught in Hobart College; and for another eighteen years, 1868-1886, at Cornell University. In the latter year, he was made professor emeritus, and in 1887 he became dean of St. Andrew's Divinity School in Syracuse, New York, where he ended his days.

Wilson had several celebrated pupils, one of the better known having been Bishop H. B. Whipple of Minnesota. [See *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 349-350.]

# The Reverend Edgar Gardner Murphy

## His Ideas and Influence

By Allen J. Going\*



E may not say," wrote Edgar Gardner Murphy, Episcopal minister, over fifty years ago, "that all is well. Recent instances . . . of stark and hideous violence make the heart shudder . . . But just because . . . the fury of racial passions is so hard to be controlled, there is the more reason . . . [that] a sense of perspective and of a grave and not indolent patience should be exercised among us."<sup>1</sup> Such expressions are still appropriate today in another period of racial tension and strife!

Murphy had an unshakable confidence in the South where he grew up and received his education.<sup>2</sup> This inherent love of the region and its people motivated him to lead and assist Southerners in thinking out the complex problems of their period. At the same time, because of his many associations and his periods of residence outside the South, he served as an able interpreter of his own section to the North.<sup>3</sup>

The twenty-four years of Murphy's life, following graduation from the University of the South at Sewanee in 1889, can be divided into two almost equal periods, during the first of which he served as rector of Episcopal churches in San Antonio and Laredo, Texas, Chillicothe, Ohio, and Kingston, New York. Soon after coming to St. John's

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*Editor's note.*

<sup>1</sup>Edgar Gardner Murphy, "A Word About the Negro Question," manuscript address at St. Thomas Church, New York City, September 28, 1904, Edgar Gardner Murphy Papers (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library). A grant-in-aid from the University of Alabama Research Committee assisted the author in the research for this paper.

<sup>2</sup>EDGAR GARDNER MURPHY (Aug. 31, 1869—June 23, 1913), the son of Samuel W. and Janie (Gardner) Murphy, was born in Fort Smith, Arkansas. He was educated in the schools of San Antonio, Texas, the University of the South, and was a sometime student at the General Theological Seminary (class of 1892). Following his ordination as a deacon (1890), he married Maud King of Concord, Mass., on August 31, 1891. He was ordained a priest in 1893.

The most complete account of Murphy's life is the biography by his widow, Maud King Murphy, *Edgar Gardner Murphy* (New York, 1943). See also *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIII, 348-49.

<sup>3</sup>For general treatments of Murphy's significance, see C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 417-419; Charles W. Dabney, *Universal Education in the South* (2 vols., Chapel Hill, 1936), II, 70-73.

Parish in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1899, his influence as effective writer and leader in the current complex social problems of the South began to develop rapidly.

Despite his earnest and serious appeals, Murphy was definitely not an austere crusader with a martyr complex. He always considered himself a spokesman for the South as a whole. "I hope . . ." he wrote Booker T. Washington, "you will not call me 'brave'. . . . It irritates the South extremely to have a few of us who are really only voicing the feeling and faith of thousands singled out for 'moral' approval."<sup>4</sup> One contemporary referred to Murphy's "delicious humor, as became his Irish inheritance." Another described him as "tenacious, earnest, brilliant, unafraid, not always patient, but persistent and always definite; a born leader, . . . at times almost mystical, a dreamer, yet practical . . ."<sup>5</sup> Above all else, he was driven by a restless energy and was a tireless worker. It is truly remarkable how much he was able to accomplish in the space of a few years and in the face of a severe physical handicap, rheumatic heart disease, that would sometimes prostrate him for months at a time. He never gave up hope, however, and maintained to the end a remarkable serenity of spirit. In 1909, he wrote:

Physically, I am so much in distress that I say frankly to you that life is at times almost unsupportable. But mentally and spiritually I have not been so happy in many years. . . . Never think of me as anxious or unhappy. The longing to *work* never leaves; I chafe under helplessness, but at heart I am not disturbed.<sup>6</sup>

As a writer, Murphy was certainly prolific for a relatively short span of active years. His two most significant works are *Problems of the Present South* (1903) and *The Basis of Ascendancy* (1909). The author himself felt that the second, which treated the race problem in a broad and comprehensive manner, was superior to the first.<sup>7</sup> Prior to his death, Murphy had projected a third book to be called "Issues Southern and National."<sup>8</sup> In addition to the books, he frequently contributed to newspapers and magazines, including the *Out-*

<sup>4</sup>Murphy to Washington, June 4, 1909, Booker T. Washington Papers (Library of Congress).

<sup>5</sup>Speeches of Alexander McKelway and Francis G. Caffey at meeting in memory of Murphy, New York City, December 7, 1913, Murphy Papers.

<sup>6</sup>Murphy to George Foster Peabody, April 3, 1909, Peabody Papers (Library of Congress).

<sup>7</sup>Murphy to Booker T. Washington, February 15, 1909, Washington Papers.

<sup>8</sup>A portion of this material with revisions indicated is collected in the Murphy Papers.



look, *North American Review*, and *Charities*. He even wrote a number of poems, and lectured once on modern poetry.<sup>9</sup>

His style is clear, forceful, and quite readable. He had, as one of his associates said, "a remarkable facility of expressing a complete argument in one sentence."<sup>10</sup> The books and articles received in the North much favorable comment from newspapers and prominent individuals, who praised this forthright but practical approach from within the South itself. The *New York Evening Post*, however, criticized both of Murphy's books, implying that his "ascendancy" meant the ascendancy of the white race over the black.<sup>11</sup> Although Murphy was somewhat disappointed with the sale of his books in the South, most of the leading Southern newspapers received them with praise.<sup>12</sup>

Murphy's interest in civic affairs resulted in his obtaining a Carnegie library grant for Montgomery, as well as grants from his good friend, George Foster Peabody, for the Montgomery Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. In his civic activities, Murphy avoided politics in so far as possible, stating, "I personally know that such influence as I may be exerting today in Alabama is largely due to the fact that I can talk sympathetically and frankly to both the factions in our politics."<sup>13</sup>

But his activities sometimes subjected him to criticism of a political nature. His most controversial involvement of this sort grew out of

<sup>9</sup>For bibliography of Murphy's writings, see Maud K. Murphy, *Edgar Gardner Murphy*, 116-120.

<sup>10</sup>Speech of Alexander McKelway at meeting in memory of Murphy, December 7, 1913, Murphy Papers.

<sup>11</sup>Murphy to Booker T. Washington, July 17, September 3, 7, 1909, Washington Papers. See also Murphy's letter to editor, *New York Evening Post*, March 12, 1909, Murphy Papers. For favorable comments on Murphy's writings, see *New York Tribune*, July 10, 1904, October 30, 1909; *New York Times*, June 17, 24, 1909; *The Outlook* (New York), LXXVI (April 1904), 967-969; and numerous letters and clippings in Murphy Papers. For the enthusiastic response provoked in one of Murphy's Northern friends, see John G. Brooks, *An American Citizen; The Life of William Henry Baldwin, Jr.* (Boston, 1910), 223-240.

<sup>12</sup>Murphy's books were never successful financially, and he himself had to bear all the expenses of publishing *The Basis of Ascendancy*. Murphy to Booker T. Washington, March 8, June 9, July 16, September 3, 1909, January 24, 1910, Washington Papers.

<sup>13</sup>Murphy to Wallace Buttrick, November 14, 1907, Southern Education Papers, Dabney Series (Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library). It is quite obvious, however, that Murphy leaned toward the conservative wing in Alabama politics, and had little sympathy for the ex-Populist, demagogic element. In national politics, he deplored Southern Democracy's "strange alliance at the West," and hoped for the restoration of the "old and self-respecting alliance between the best brains . . . of the South and the Democracy of the East."—Murphy to George F. Peabody, February 14, 1902, Southern Education Papers, Murphy Letterbook.



his opposition to a pledge by the Alabama Democratic Party prior to the 1901 constitutional convention that no white person would be disfranchised. The state Democratic chairman had requested all clergymen to support the campaign for a convention, and Murphy in reply wrote *An Open Letter on Suffrage Restriction* that was widely circulated. He contended that a policy of assuring every white man a vote was unnecessary, impossible, and inexpedient. Unnecessary because Negro domination was "the merest 'bogie,'" no longer a real threat. Impossible because of the Fifteenth Amendment, which he believed should be modified but which was the law of the land. And inexpedient because it would put a premium on education for the Negro but not for the white, and would foster restlessness and resentment among Negroes. "Some suffrage restriction," he declared, "is absolutely necessary to Alabama. Let us place that restriction, without considerations of race, upon the idle and the vicious." He fully agreed with the theories of white supremacy and of purifying the ballot box, but these goals could not be attained by writing into the law itself "the injustice that is done outside the law." "Any suffrage test . . .," he said, "should bear with even and exact justice upon all classes."<sup>14</sup> Thus it is not surprising that Murphy vigorously opposed the "grandfather" clauses written into Alabama's 1901 constitution.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, he felt that the suffrage article might have been more drastic, and took heart in the fact that by 1903 some 3,000 Negroes in the state had registered.<sup>16</sup>

In both his writings and his civic work, Murphy concentrated on the three problems of child labor, education, and race relations, always recognizing a close interrelation between the three. To him, the most significant trend since the Civil War had been the broadening of South-

<sup>14</sup>Murphy's letter to editor, *New York Evening Post*, May 2, 1903, Murphy Papers; Edgar Gardner Murphy, *An Open Letter on Suffrage Restriction* (Montgomery, [1901]), 18, 19, and *passim*. See also, other letters from Murphy in *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 23, June 26, July 12, 1901; Edgar Gardner Murphy, *Problems of the Present South* (New York, 1904), 266-270.

<sup>15</sup>He congratulated Ex-Governor Thomas G. Jones on his speech in the convention opposing the "grandfather" clause. Murphy to Jones, July 28, 1901, Thomas G. Jones Papers (Alabama State Department of Archives and History). For a thorough treatment of the constitutional convention and the movement for suffrage restriction in Alabama, see Malcolm C. McMillan, *Constitutional Development in Alabama, 1789-1901* (Chapel Hill, 1955), 217-232, 263-309.

<sup>16</sup>Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, 197. In 1905, when Congress was considering reducing the representation of the Southern states, Murphy contended that such a step would seriously injure race relations, and would impair the beneficent effects resulting from disfranchisement of poorly qualified Negroes and whites. Murphy, "Shall the Fourteenth Amendment be Enforced?," *North American Review* (New York), CLXXX (January, 1905), 109-133.

ern democracy to include more active participation by the masses of whites. He recognized that one of the unifying factors between the Old South leadership and the new democracy was the race issue.<sup>17</sup> At the same time, this changing situation necessitated improvement of educational facilities, protection from industrial oppression, and a more wholesome attitude in race relations. "The movement for industrial liberty," said Murphy, "and the movement for the 'schools of the people' . . . [are] but two phases of the one underlying, essential direction of Southern life, the movement toward a truly democratic order."<sup>18</sup>

Murphy contributed to the campaign against child labor both through his own writings and through the influence he had on others. When Miss Irene Ashby, an English woman who had been sent South by the American Federation of Labor to investigate child labor, presented her findings to the Episcopal minister, he was shocked, and immediately enlisted the support of the Montgomery Ministers' Union for a child labor bill in the Alabama legislature. The legislature passed a somewhat watered-down version of this bill in 1903; in the meantime, Murphy had organized the Alabama Committee on Child Labor, and had himself written numerous pamphlets in support of the bill. These pamphlets have often been mentioned as the first significant printed material defending child labor legislation in the South.<sup>19</sup> A. J. McKelway referred to Murphy's impromptu remarks at an Atlanta meeting in 1903 as "the greatest speech against child labor ever delivered in America."<sup>20</sup>

Murphy summoned statistics, logic, and sentiment to his side in this cause. "This legislation," he wrote, "is not only in the interest of the industry, it is not only in the interest of childhood . . . , but it is demanded in the interest of society itself." In answer to the argument that child labor legislation would be an "entering wedge" for further restrictive labor legislation, he said, "We must not do a compassionate and reasonable thing, because, forsooth, somebody might then demand an inconsiderate and unreasonable thing." And in con-

<sup>17</sup>"As a basis for democracy," he said, "the conscious unity of race is not wholly adequate, but it is better . . . than the distinctions of wealth, of trade, of property, of family, or class." Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, 17.

<sup>18</sup>*Ibid.*, 17, 123, and *passim*.

<sup>19</sup>Elizabeth H. Davidson, *Child Labor Legislation in the Southern Textile States*, (Chapel Hill, 1938), 36-40. An almost complete collection of Murphy's pamphlets on child labor and other subjects can be found in the Southern Pamphlet Collection, University of North Carolina Library.

<sup>20</sup>Speech of McKelway at meeting in memory of Murphy, December 7, 1913, Murphy Papers. Murphy's Atlanta speech is Chapter V of *Problems of the Present South*, 129-149.

clusion he condemned the practice as "an ancient and alien and hideous wrong. . . . Morally it is iniquitous, commercially it is foolishness."<sup>21</sup>

In the child labor struggle, Murphy encountered some of the most bitter and personal criticism of his career. But it did not faze him, and he carried the fight into New England itself, where he believed much of the opposition originated.<sup>22</sup> Although Murphy had assisted in the organization of the National Child Labor Committee, he broke completely with that group in 1906 because it supported the Beveridge-Parsons Congressional child labor bill. It is true that he had been giving much more of his attention to the work of the Southern Education Board, and this break with the National Child Labor Committee probably pleased some of the other education leaders, who had been somewhat uneasy about the executive secretary's child-labor activities.<sup>23</sup>

Murphy's activities in the field of education well illustrate the unique blending in his personality of practical organizer and philosophical theorist.<sup>24</sup> Although his major work and interest lay with the promotional activities of the Southern Education Board, he frequently expressed certain fundamental concepts of education in general. Not being a professional educator, Murphy approached the subject from a broad civic perspective. The principal functions of schools, he believed, were the blending of knowledge and training, the inculcating of order and obedience, and instruction for adjusting to one's proper

<sup>21</sup>Edgar Gardner Murphy, *The Case Against Child Labor, An Argument* (n.p., [1902]), 32, 41, 47.

<sup>22</sup>Edgar Gardner Murphy, *Child Labor in Alabama: An Appeal to the People and Press of New England* (n.p., [1901]). Much of this is reprinted in *Problems of the Present South*, 309-329.

<sup>23</sup>Murphy to Robert C. Ogden, December 31, 1906, Southern Education Papers, Dabney Series; G. S. Dickerman to Ogden, March 3, 1906, Southern Education Papers, Dickerman Letterbook; Murphy, *The Federal Regulation of Child Labor* (Montgomery, [1907]).

Murphy believed firmly in states' rights, saying at one time, "So far as the issue of the war involved the institution of slavery the defeat of the South was just; so far as it involved the larger question of states' rights . . . the cause of the South was just." Murphy to Thomas M. Owen, November 20, 1909, Murphy Folder in Alabama State Department of Archives and History Library.

Murphy continued his interest in the child labor cause in Alabama, becoming involved in the 1906 B. B. Comer gubernatorial campaign, and helping to push a new child labor law through the legislature in 1907. Maud K. Murphy, *Edgar Gardner Murphy*, 72-75, 84-93; Davidson, *Child Labor Legislation*; 216; Edgar Gardner Murphy, *The Child Labor Question in Alabama—A Plea for Immediate Action*, National Child Labor Committee Pamphlet No. 59 (New York, [1907]). See also Murphy's two poems, "With the Jails," and "Beneath the Shield," both written in 1907, Murphy Papers.

<sup>24</sup>Martha Hay Vardeman, "The Educational Contributions of Edgar Gardner Murphy" (M.S. Thesis, Alabama Polytechnic Institute, 1949) is actually a brief account of Murphy's entire career, with one chapter on his educational work, 47-75.

place in a democratic society.<sup>25</sup> His emphasis on this latter function reminds one of modern "progressive" techniques. At the same time, some of Murphy's ideas are strikingly similar to those which today emphasize the need for more general education and less specialized training. He believed that education should assist one toward success in the worldly sense, but should also help one "enjoy more deeply . . . his books, his friends, his intercourse with nature, and all the varied world of art and culture that lies around him. . . ."<sup>26</sup>

Overriding all other concepts of education in Murphy's mind was the role which it should play in preparing the South for its new and expanded democratic life. This called for an active campaign of arousing enthusiasm for schools for whites and Negroes alike. In 1902, after resigning as rector of St. John's, he entered with enthusiasm his new position as executive secretary of the recently created Southern Education Board.<sup>27</sup> In this job, Murphy was closely associated with Robert C. Ogden of New York, president of the board, and furthered its work by writing, organizing, and influencing policy. Although Murphy's work often kept him in the East, he spent much time in Montgomery, and always listed it as his residence in conformity with his basic principle that the active work in this educational crusade should be in the hands of Southerners.<sup>28</sup> Ogden much admired his executive secretary's "graceful and trenchant" pen, and hoped that it would be put to good use in the education movement.<sup>29</sup> Murphy himself realized the value of his writing ability, especially after continued ill-health made more active work extremely difficult, and in 1908 compelled him to resign the secretaryship, and to retire from active life. At that time he wrote, "My retirement from the Secretaryship is . . . a distinct relief, inasmuch

<sup>25</sup>Murphy, "The Public Function of the Public School," *Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Convention of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland*, Princeton University, November 25-26, 1904 (n.p., 1905), 64-65; Murphy, *The Schools of the People*, Address before the National Education Association, Boston, July 10, 1903 (n.p., n.d.), 32. This address is included as Chapter II in *Problems of the Present South*.

<sup>26</sup>Murphy to J. D. Barron, June 11, 1907, Murphy Papers.

<sup>27</sup>For the origins, purposes, and work of the Southern Education Board, see Dabney, *Universal Education*, II, 19-73; Wycliffe Rose, "The Educational Movement in the South," *Report of the United States Commissioner of Education*, 1903 (Washington, 1905), 359-390; Murphy *Problems of the Present South*, 205-223.

<sup>28</sup>His wife and sons stayed in Connecticut most of the time, but were instructed always to list their legal residence as Montgomery. Interview with the Rev. DuBose Murphy, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, February 14, 1956.

<sup>29</sup>Ogden to Charles W. Dabney, November 19, 1901, January 7, 1902, Southern Education Papers, Dabney Series.

as I believe that my writing will always be . . . my best contribution to our causes."<sup>30</sup>

The basic philosophy behind the Southern Education Board and the Conferences for Education in the South fitted exactly Murphy's ideas, and he spent much time writing and speaking, primarily to Southerners, in defense and explanation of the movement. He argued that this project had no implications of interference in the Reconstruction pattern, nor of charity, but rather was a cooperative project between Northern philanthropy and Southern leaders. He also frequently pointed out that efforts would be concentrated on common school improvements for the masses, both Negro and white, but with emphasis on the latter. In describing the attitude of the Northern members, he wrote:

They have simply said: "You have shown us that the South is trying heroically to deal not only with the Negro, but with great unprivileged masses of its white population. You understand your own people and your own problems, as we do not. This work is, therefore, yours. Take it and do it."<sup>31</sup>

In describing and summarizing the education movement, Murphy succinctly concluded:

The teacher is put into a working alliance with the community. . . . For this business is the business of citizenship. . . . It is of *all* the people, by *all* the people. It is democracy at the task of self-equipment.<sup>32</sup>

Murphy's health permitted him actively to organize two or three of the conferences, and from time to time to function as contact man between the Southerners actively engaged in the education crusade and the Northern members of the board. He also assumed an active role in the education campaign in Alabama, organizing a state campaign

<sup>30</sup>Murphy to George F. Peabody, May 30, 1908, Ogden Papers. Beginning in 1909, Murphy received for the remaining years of his life a \$3,000 annual stipend from the Carnegie Foundation. Since he remained in the North during those years, he did not feel as free to speak out on Southern problems, because as he phrased it, "People do not like me to write letters at them from New England." Murphy to Booker T. Washington, February 15, March 8, September 7, 1909. Washington Papers.

<sup>31</sup>Edgar Gardner Murphy, *A Statement Concerning the Southern Education Board* ([Knoxville], 1902), 8. See also, Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, 223-250.

<sup>32</sup>Full text of Murphy's address before the Pinehurst, North Carolina, meeting of the Conference for Southern Education, in *Pinehurst Outlook* [April, 1907], clipping in Murphy Papers.

committee, which held a state-wide conference in Montgomery in 1902.<sup>33</sup> The records of the meetings of the Southern Education Board, and Murphy's correspondence, indicate that he was outspoken and effective in determining policy. He insisted that the actual campaigning be in the hands of Southerners, served as a kind of mediator between Northern and Southern members on the question of Negro education, and strongly opposed a suggestion in 1907 that the Southern Education Board terminate its activities. The next year, in suggesting a permanent autonomous life for the conference, he wrote, "It is the only organization in the United States that recognizes the factor of the layman, as a citizen, in the educational activities of the State. . . ."<sup>34</sup>

Of the three problems of primary concern to Murphy, that of the Negro probably remained uppermost in his thinking. Shortly after coming to Montgomery, he attracted national attention with his organization of the Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South, which held its first conference in Montgomery in May, 1900. The numerous sessions of the three-day conference included addresses by prominent Southerners on such topics as the franchise, popular education, religion and the Negro, and lynching. It attracted rather extensive and varied treatment in the Northern press.<sup>35</sup>

Murphy analyzed the race problem from many angles in his writings. Frequently he stated that there existed no simple solution, and he had no absolute formula to offer, but would constantly strive for "approximate adjustments, increasingly righteous, intelligent, and effec-

<sup>33</sup>Efforts in Alabama were directed toward the enactment by counties of the special school tax permitted under the new constitution and a constitutional amendment permitting local units to tax themselves for school purposes. Murphy to Edwin A. Alderman, January 4, 1907, Southern Education Papers, Dabney Series. See also, *Alabama's First Question: Local Support for Local Schools* (Montgomery, 1904), which contains statements by leading Alabamians in answer to an introductory letter of inquiry from Murphy.

<sup>34</sup>Murphy to Robert C. Ogden, November 10, 1908. See also, Murphy to Ogden, January 9, 1909, Ogden Papers, expressing his ideas of how the board should shift its emphasis from a campaign for more adequate financial support to one for improved school administration; and Murphy to Wallace Buttrick, November 14, 1907, Southern Education Papers, Dabney Series, presenting strong arguments for continuing the work of the movement.

<sup>35</sup>*Race Problems of the South: Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual Conference . . . of the Southern Society for the Promotion of the Study of Race Conditions and Problems in the South* (Richmond, Virginia, [1900]) was edited by Murphy and contains the texts of all addresses. For Murphy's account of the ideas and plans behind the conference, see his *The White Man and the Negro at the South*, Address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, March 8, 1900, (n.p., [1900]), 15-18, 40-41, 54-55. For newspaper reaction, see numerous clippings in Southern Education Papers, Dickerman Scrapbook, Vol. IV.



tive."<sup>36</sup> Underlying his whole concept was a firm conviction that the two races were far from equal in their present states of development. Thus the principle of separation in education and other social contacts he accepted without question. At the same time, he did not believe that the wide inequalities should or would last forever. He believed essentially in the inferiority of the Negro race at that time, but also in its improvability; and he bitterly assailed any who desired to impede the progress of Negroes either as individuals or as a group. "There is no place in our American system," he said, "for a helot class. . . . We may in every personal and social sense desire separation, [but] we want no fixed or permanent population of the inferior."<sup>37</sup> But even with vast improvement on the part of the Negroes, Murphy still did not see any necessity or desirability for integration, but rather envisioned separate development, each cooperating with and helping the other. Such a condition of affairs, in his conception, would be preferable to the existing situation in the North, where the Negro had theoretical equality but faced much discrimination in actual life.<sup>38</sup>

Murphy worked conscientiously and steadily for the improvement of the Negro through education and other means. He often cited the fine tradition of helpfulness and consideration toward the inferior race practiced by "the older conservative leadership," and hoped that it would be adopted by the expanding democracy of the New South.<sup>39</sup> In Negro education, he was a staunch supporter of the Booker Washington-Tuskegee principle, because, as he expressed it, "The institution has faced the situation precisely as it is, and has met this situation at the point of acutest need."<sup>40</sup> At the same time, he did not exclude other types of education for the Negro. "Men of special capacity," he said, "should . . . be given special academic training . . ."<sup>41</sup>

In Murphy's thinking, the progress of the Negro was essential not only for the Negroes themselves, but for the whites as well. In answer to those who feared Negro progress, he said, "If the progress of the Negro bring peril with it, that peril is as nothing in comparison with the Negro's failure."<sup>42</sup> And he contended that the real threat

<sup>36</sup>Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, ix.

<sup>37</sup>Edgar Gardner Murphy, *The Basis of Ascendancy* (New York, 1910), 233.

<sup>38</sup>Murphy, *The White Man and the Negro at the South*, 37-39. Much of this address was rewritten as Chapter VI of *Problems of the Present South*.

<sup>39</sup>This is the theme of Murphy's "The Task of the Leader," *Sewanee Review* (New York), VIII (January, 1907), 1-30.

<sup>40</sup>Broadside giving texts of speeches at mass meeting in support of Tuskegee, New York, April 15, 1903, Murphy Papers.

<sup>41</sup>Letter to editor, *Boston Transcript*, May 19, 1900, clipping in Southern Education Papers, Dickerman Scrapbook, Vol. IV.

<sup>42</sup>Broadside of speech at New York meeting, April 15, 1903, Murphy Papers.



to racial purity and separation was not the *advocate* of Negro progress but the *opponent*, who would provoke in the Negro a sense of frustration and despair, leading to antipathies and deeds of violence. "When the stronger race," he wrote Booker T. Washington, "understands that . . . the development of our weaker peoples is a necessity . . . , our whole attitude as to details will change."<sup>43</sup>

Pervading like a dominant chord all of his thinking on the race question was Murphy's conviction that responsibility and leadership must be in the hands of right-thinking Southerners. Time and again, he pointed out that much harm had been done by undue criticism and misguided efforts on the part of some Northern newspapers and doctrinaire reformers, just as similar efforts during Reconstruction had impeded the establishment of sound race relations in the South. He cited the New York *Evening Post* for its habit of blaming the entire South for the misdeeds of some heartless, unthinking individuals or groups. "Too often we find," he wrote, "that when our Northern journalism discusses wrongs at the North or at the West, it criticizes the *wrong*s, but when it discusses wrongs at the South it criticizes the *South*."<sup>44</sup> Such an attitude tends to provoke from Southerners a petulant and often unreasonable resistance to change and progress.<sup>45</sup> On the other hand, a disposition in the North, he said, "to say, 'hands off' . . . will be met by an alert and growing determination upon the part of the men of the South to face their local problems, to say, 'hands on' . . ."<sup>46</sup> Murphy emphasized that he was not advocating "blind sectionalism," but rather a greater degree of cooperation between both sections, a greater realization that the Negro problem "is not the South's or the North's but the Nation's."<sup>47</sup>

One of Murphy's last articles dealt with the race problem. While retaining his typically hopeful outlook, he admitted that certain recent events, such as increased acts of violence and the diversion of funds

<sup>43</sup>Murphy to Washington, July 27, 1909, Booker T. Washington Papers.

<sup>44</sup>Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, 23.

<sup>45</sup>Murphy wrote to Robert C. Ogden, "The South's answer to you . . . was in men like Aycock, Montague . . . et al. The South's response to Senator Heyburn . . . and to DuBois . . . is in men like Blease, Vardaman, and the *present* Hoke Smith. Human nature will fight fire with fire." October 1, 1911, Ogden Papers.

<sup>46</sup>He continued: "If the task is ever to be done permanently we must do it. We shall never do it quite so well as we might do it, so long as there is operative at the North a disposition of moral fretfulness and of academic fussiness, which, forgetting our burdens and exaggerating our failures, is always present to tempt the weak to cynicism and the just to strong language." Letter to editor, New York *Evening Post*, June 16, 1903, reprinted in *Peonage Cases in Alabama* (Montgomery, [1903]), 7.

<sup>47</sup>Murphy, *Problems of the Present South*, 260.

from Negro schools, were enough "to test the creed of a legitimate optimism." The increase in racial prejudice he attributed to the political success that professional race antagonists had discovered among so many ignorant voters "with crude and irresponsible antipathies." But he saw promising signs in an increasing number of the Negroes' friends, and in the gradual decline of the Negro question as the one overshadowing all others in the South.<sup>48</sup>

Murphy's death on June 23, 1913, in some ways marked the end of an era. Robert C. Ogden died in the same year, and the Southern education movement entered a new and less dramatic phase. How shall we evaluate this vigorous spokesman on Southern issues? In his concept of the minister's role, he exemplified the true social-gospel ideal. "He believed," wrote his admired mentor at Sewanee, "that the Christian ministry, while ever keeping its mind upon eternal principles, should put its hands deeper down than it was doing into temporal and prevalent practice."<sup>49</sup> In his efforts for better educational facilities and for child labor laws, Murphy certainly contributed to the progressive cause. His philosophy that the public should take a greater interest in the support and operation of the schools is as appropriate in the present school crisis as it was during the education crusade of the early 1900's. It could be argued that his stand on the race question was not truly progressive because he did not accept the basic principle of racial equality. It must be remembered, however, that he firmly believed that the efforts of doctrinaire reformers did more harm than good, and that his was the only practical approach. Murphy's attitude toward the Negro was certainly progressive in the sense that he bitterly assailed the Negro's detractors and worked consistently for Negro improvement. The South urgently needs today those of his moral fibre to speak out in the cause of justness, wisdom, and moderation.

<sup>48</sup>Edgar Gardner Murphy, "Backward or Forward?," *South Atlantic Quarterly* (Durham, North Carolina), VIII (January, 1909), 19-38.

<sup>49</sup>William P. DuBose, "Edgar Gardner Murphy: An Appreciation," *Sewanee Review* (New York), XXII (October, 1914), 495-496.

## Book Reviews

### I. American Church History and Biography

*The Religious Press in the South Atlantic States, 1802-1865: An Annotated Bibliography with Historical Introduction and Notes.* By Henry Smith Stroupe. (Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society.) Durham, North Carolina, Duke University Press, 1956. Pp. 172. \$4.50.

Few studies have been made of the early religious press in this country, and fewer still exhibit the careful scholarship and attention to detail of this work. Mr. Stroupe traces the religious press of all denominations in the South Atlantic States, beginning with the *Georgia Analytical Repository* of Savannah in 1802 and continuing to the close of the Civil War. His method is to introduce the subject with a historical introduction, then to list each publication alphabetically with a brief description of it, and finally to include a chronological list of titles, a list of titles arranged alphabetically by denominations, a geographical list, and an exceptionally full bibliography. Finally, there is an index of the persons and places referred to in the text.

The periodicals of the Episcopal Church have their place in the listing, but one feels that perhaps the author did not do quite as much research on some of these as he might have done. Thus his account of the *Lay-Man's Magazine* (1815-16), the first publication of the Episcopal Church in the South, is confined to the following paragraph:

"The editor, who carefully concealed his identity, proposed to follow in this early Episcopal publication events in the spiritual war being waged by the benevolent societies of his day. 'In the name of the Lord,' he wrote, 'lift we up our banner and commence a crusade against pride, profligacy, lukewarmness and ignorance.' The content included stories, hymns, poetry, essays on morals, church proceedings, missionary intelligence, and sermons." (p. 85).

Actually, a good deal more is known about the *Lay-Man's Magazine*, as I indicated in my study, "Origins of the Episcopal Church Press from Colonial Days to 1840" (*HISTORICAL MAGAZINE*, September 1942). In this I pointed out that the editor of this interesting periodical was a notable character, Benjamin Allen, a layman at the time that he edited this periodical, but later an ordained clergyman and rector of St. Paul's Church, Philadelphia. He left a record of his editorship in letters to his brother, and both Mr. Allen and the *Lay-Man's Magazine* are described by Bishop Meade in his *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*. Although the *Lay-Man's Magazine* lasted only a little over a year, it was the first religious weekly of

the Episcopal Church, and contained a surprising variety of material and sprightly writing.

Another periodical of the Episcopal Church in the period covered, which Mr. Stroupe has omitted entirely, was the *Washington Theological Repertory*. This periodical, which began publication in August 1819, was established and for many years published by the Rev. William H. Wilmer of Alexandria, a leading churchman of Virginia until his death in 1827. This periodical had a relatively long life for the period, continuing from 1819 until a year after Dr. Wilmer's death, when the principal editor was the Rev. William Hawley. Profits from this periodical were to go to the Education Society, to eight young men studying for the ministry, and to the American Colonization Society, organized to colonize freed Negro slaves. Thus it had a sociological as well as a religious importance, which was unusual for its day.

Mr. Stroupe lists in all nine Episcopal periodicals for the period under study, including the *Southern Churchman*, which continues to the present day as *Episcopal Churchnews*—a change in title that he fails to mention in his sketch of this periodical.

The author brings out several interesting points in regard to the religious press at the time of the Civil War. He notes that

"Every editor of religious periodicals in the South Atlantic States had opposed secession until it became a reality. South Carolina and Georgia editors expressed their approval either a few days before or immediately after the secession of their states; most North Carolina and Virginia editors announced approval when Lincoln called for troops; the remainder waited until after secession. Once the union had been divided, the religious press, with the exception of two border publications, threw its support behind the Southern war effort. Some editors urged readers to forget their differing views on secession and follow the Scriptural injunction to submit to those actually in authority. Others wrote of the positive duty of Christians to defend their religion, homes, and institutions" (p. 32).

Another interesting point that he brings out is that five religious newspapers were founded in 1863, designed expressly for members of the Armed Forces of the Confederacy. There were also two denominational papers, especially designed for soldiers and sent to them free of charge. These periodicals received a very wide circulation as compared with other religious publications of its day. Thus 10,000 copies of the first number of the *Army and Navy Messenger* were sent free of charge to members of the Armed Forces, whereas most periodicals of the day had circulations ranging from 1,000 to 3,000 copies. The average for the *Southern Churchman* was 1,250 subscribers, although the issue for January 4, 1861, reported a circulation of 2,500.

The war had a highly inflationary effect on the subscription prices of these periodicals. Thus the *Southern Churchman*, which was normally \$2.50 a year, quoted its subscription price as \$20.00 a year to

ward the close of the war. Even this was a relatively mild increase as compared with another Episcopal Church publication, the *Church Intelligencer*, of Charlotte, N. C., which was forced to raise its price from \$2.50 to \$60.00, before it succumbed with its issue of May 4, 1865.

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*American Protestantism.* By T. Valentine Parker. New York, Philosophical Library, 1956. Pp. viii+219. \$3.75.

This is a very sincere book, if not a very profound one. The author, a Baptist minister, is deeply concerned about the future of American Protestantism. He writes in staccato style, with a certain degree of homiletical fervor. In his opening chapter, he surveys the history of Christianity from its beginnings down to the present! Our readers will find this chapter a rather naive over-simplification: The history of Christianity down to the Reformation was one of progressive corruption of primitive simplicity, alleviated now and then by the appearance of a St. Francis of Assisi or a John Wycliffe. We miss any sense of the Church as the Body of Christ, or any adequate conception of the guidance of the Holy Spirit through the Church's history.

The contributions of Protestantism to American life in the fields of evangelism, education, social reform, social service, and in the creation of the *milieu* of American democracy are duly set forth. Against this background of achievement, Dr. Parker next surveys the defects of the American Church—its worldliness or surrender to the standards of secularism, its unbrotherliness, and the indifference of its members. A chapter on the ministry holds up the mirror to clerical foibles and shortcomings. Aware as he is of the crudeness and lack of reverence of much non-liturgical worship, our author fights shy of liturgical, altar-centered worship, and reveals his antipathy to what he calls "Sacramentarianism" (meaning Sacramentalism). It is interesting to compare and contrast the ideals and standards of worship set forth here with those of Dr. George Hedley, chaplain of Mills College, in his *Christian Worship* (Macmillan, 1953). Clearly, we have two opposing tendencies in American Protestantism—one in the direction of liturgical and sacramental enrichment, and one in the direction of complete informality.

Dr. Parker thinks that unbrotherliness, rather than sectarianism, is the great sin of American Protestantism. (What is sectarianism but the manifestation of unbrotherliness?) He views the ecumenical movement realistically, albeit rather inconclusively. He sees little hope of corporate reunion because of the intransigence of the fundamentalists on the one hand and of the "Sacramentarians" on the other, and he is deeply concerned about the growing power of Roman Catholicism in America, as well as the threat of Communism.

We must not leave our readers with the idea that there is little in this book which Episcopalians can read with profit. The contrary is true. We, too, are not immune to the pressure of secularism, class consciousness, indifference, clerical pride and ambition, lay dictation, etc., which are of such concern to our author. Yes, and we can even learn from his strictures against episcopacy, creed, liturgy, and sacramentalism, making all due allowance for his Baptist bias.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



*From "Churches" to "Church."* By DuBose Murphy. Church Historical Society Publication No. 43 (Austin, Texas, 1956). 20¢, 6 copies for \$1.

This brochure, reprinted from the HISTORICAL MAGAZINE, is a survey of the development of the efficiently organized American Episcopal Church of today from the scattered local Church units of the time of the Declaration of Independence. Mr. Murphy discerns "five landmarks on the course by which these churches advanced in outward organization and inward fellowship, to become the Church which we have today."

(I) The General Conventions of 1785, 1786 and 1789 worked out a system of Church government, including the adoption of the Book of Common Prayer in 1789. (II) The founding of the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society in 1820 indicated the Church's aim of spreading throughout the states. (III) Just as the unity of the American nation was determined by the outcome of the Civil War, so, after a critical period, the unity of the Church was proclaimed at the General Convention of 1865. (IV) The growth of corporate responsibility was fostered and demonstrated by the final adopting in 1916 of The Church Pension Fund. (V) World War I led the American nation to mobilize its resources. After the war, the Church, in the Nationwide Campaign of 1919, did likewise. The Church then secured the principle of having a common policy, for the carrying out of which the whole Church is responsible, aided by adequate administrative machinery.

Such is Mr. Murphy's survey. Others might place landmarks at different places—but the development that he records is incontrovertible. All Church people should be moved by this booklet to great thankfulness for the growth, under God's guidance, of the American Church from such small and unpromising beginnings.

BRIAN TAYLOR.

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Lincolnshire, U. K.*





*Billy Graham: The Personal Story of the Man, His Message, and His Mission.* By Stanley High. New York, McGraw-Hill, 1956. Pp. 275. \$3.95.

In 1928, a journalist named Grover C. Loud wrote a history of the American revival entitled *Evangelised America* (Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press). His thesis was that mass-evangelism, which derived in this country from Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield, had reached its zenith in Dwight L. Moody, a sincere, consecrated man of God, and then had suffered a gradual decline to the vulgarity, irreverence, and commercialism of Billy Sunday and the amoral exhibitionism of Aimee Semple McPherson. He saw no future for revivalism.

Certainly, twenty-eight years later, we still have hot gossellers, ranters, and religious racketeers aplenty. And yet, out of this unpromising background has arisen in the South an evangelist who, in the opinion of another journalist, Stanley High, must take his place in the succession of great evangelists which includes the Apostle Paul, John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Dwight L. Moody—none other than Dr. Billy Graham.

In spite of his obvious admiration for Billy Graham, the author writes with detachment and discrimination, not suppressing or ignoring the cultural and theological limitations of his subject. He tells in readable fashion, interspersed with a wealth of anecdote and comment, both favorable and unfavorable, the whole story of Billy Graham, from his quite normal boyhood in a devout North Carolina home, his conversion in the revival tent of Mordecai Ham, a typical hot-gospeller, his education in a Florida Bible school and in Wheaton College, Illinois, his courtship and marriage—down to the time only a few years later when he had become a world figure, preaching to, and reaching through modern mass-media, more people than have ever been reached by a Christian preacher before, disarming and winning the unfriendly and inquisitive representatives of the press, obtaining the admiration and support of the Archbishop of Canterbury and other high dignitaries of the Church of England, and preaching by command before the Queen and Duke of Edinburgh in their private chapel at Windsor.

We are shown how the man was influenced and has grown in spiritual depth and understanding through the experiences of his unprecedented career. We are shown a man of attractive appearance and pleasing personality, absolutely sincere and devoid of unctuousness or pomposity—a man of single-minded dedication and consecration to his evangelistic task—genuinely devout—not a great or eloquent preacher, but one who in all humility preaches “with authority.” His “The Bible says” is likened to the prophetic “Thus saith the Lord.” And he reaches people where they live, with amazing response. Without the excitement and hysteria that have so often discredited evangelistic efforts in the past (and still do), Billy Graham leads thousands to a definite commitment of the will to the Lord Jesus Christ—and apparently a very high percentage of them stick.



With all due recognition of the limitations of Dr. Graham's Biblical fundamentalism and theology, and his innocence of any knowledge or appreciation of the process of Christian nurture within the sacramental life and fellowship of the Church, we agree with Mr. High that Billy Graham is a man sent from God, using his talents to the utmost to bring many souls to the knowledge and obedience of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. We know of no one in our Anglican Communion who is doing a comparable task, save (to a much lesser degree) Dr. Bryan Green. We can ill afford to be sniffish, or critical of Billy Graham, when he is so obviously meeting a spiritual hunger that organized Christianity in all of its branches has failed to meet. We concur in Mr. High's closing verdict:

"Whether or not Billy Graham proves to be the human instrument of revival in our time, one thing, I think, is certain: such a revival will come from the preaching of no other or no lesser Gospel."

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.*



*A Short History of Saint John's Church, Worthington Valley, Western Run Parish.* By Nelson Waite Rightmyer. Published by the Parish, 1955. 14 pp. 50¢.

Dr. Rightmyer has provided an informative summary of the history of a church which has some general interest as being one Maryland parish which does not claim a colonial foundation, and (more important) as having, perhaps, a right to the title of first "free" church. It was founded in 1816, and Dr. Rightmyer says that it was "from the beginning a 'free church.'" The present reviewer does not know of any earlier claimant among self-supporting parishes.

WILLIAM WILSON MANROSS.

*The Library,  
Philadelphia Divinity School.*



#### AMONG OUR CONTEMPORIES

By DuBOSE MURPHY, *Associate Editor*

An appropriately timely study of "The Attitudes of American Protestantism toward the Negro, 1919-1939," by ROBERT MOATS MILLER, appeared in *The Journal of Negro History*, July, 1956, pp.

215-240. From the close of the Civil War, "Protestant Churches were segregated and segregating institutions." And, since the churches are basically not merely fraternal groups but representatives of the Kingdom of God, the racial attitude of American Protestantism deserved all the more severe condemnation. Incidents at Church conventions and the pages of the Church press all indicated the prevailing sense of white superiority and aloofness. But there were two ways in which the churches were contributing to a better recognition of the Negro's place in the world. One was the service rendered by church schools and hospitals in improving the education and health of the Negro. The other was the presence of sincere and idealistic Christians in the churches, leavening the mass and setting in operation a number of positive movements towards decency in human relations. "The record of the Federal Council, for example, was honorable," and "Northern Methodism [before reunion] assumed a relatively advanced position on the Negro question." The record of other communions is sketched, on the basis of official convention resolutions and material in the church press. "As the years between 1919 and 1939 passed, Protestantism came increasingly to the recognition that a segregated church *content with its segregation* was wrong. And as the years passed, also, the gulf between Christ's ideal of brotherhood and man's practice narrowed."

Our friend and former associate editor, the Rev. G. MACLAREN BRYDON, D. D., contributed an article on "The Antiecclesiastical Laws of Virginia" to the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, July, 1956, pp. 259-285. It has been said that many a great principle has been betrayed by carrying it through to its logical conclusions. Something of that sort happened to Thomas Jefferson's principle of religious liberty and the separation of church and state.

"The Protestant Episcopal Church was incorporated by the General Assembly in 1784, only to have its act of incorporation repealed in 1787. Under the acts of 1799 and 1802 every kind of tangible property, churches, churchyards, glebes and other real estate, church bells and communion silver . . . which had belonged to the Established Church of Virginia on July 5, 1776, was seized by the state. Glebes, bells and silver were ordered to be sold and the proceeds used for any public purpose except a religious one . . . And no bequest to a church . . . could be paid by the executors of any will."

Before Jefferson, the influence of English deism had spread through Virginia and had encouraged opposition to organized religion. The preamble to the Virginia Statute on Religious Freedom emphasized the dangers of organized religion, and undoubtedly encouraged the development of an anti-ecclesiastical atmosphere and the passage of anti-ecclesiastical laws. Later laws and judicial decisions restrained the Church from holding property, and prevented the establishment of trust funds and endowments for religious purposes. Not until the Constitution of 1869 was the incorporation of religious institutions per-

mitted. Dr. Brydon suggests that the interest of Virginia churchmen in foreign missions may have been fostered in part by the fact that benefactors could make gifts to the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society, which was a New York corporation.



## II. English and General Church History

*Old Priest and New Presbyterian.* By Norman Sykes, F. B. A., New York, Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. viii+266. \$5.00.

In this important book, the Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the University of Cambridge presents the Anglican attitude to episcopacy, presbyterianism, and papacy since the Reformation. Since they were first delivered as the Gunning Lectures at the University of Edinburgh 1953-54 (and later as the Edward Cadbury Lectures at the University of Birmingham 1954-55), Prof. Sykes lays special emphasis on the relations between the Churches of England and of Scotland. A single lecture (or chapter) treats of the Anglican attitude toward the papacy.

Prof. Sykes finds in the Reformation doctrine of the Godly Prince, with its scriptural basis in the Old Testament, a definitive factor in the classic Anglican theory and defense of episcopacy as developed by Hooker, Whitgift, Jewel, and Bancroft. In contrast to their Puritan opponents, these men denied that any one form of ecclesiastical polity derived exclusive authority from scripture. They defended episcopacy as being of apostolical, not dominical, provenance, prevailing in the Catholic Church for fifteen centuries and providentially retained in the Church of England by the authority of the prince with the consent of the whole Church. But "if the alternative lay between soundness of doctrine and the retention of episcopacy; if princes and bishops, instead of promoting, were actually opposing the necessary reform of the church, then other forms of church order might be adopted, until it pleased God to turn again the captivity of Zion."

Neither Luther nor Calvin was opposed in principle to episcopacy. Nor did English exiles during the reign of Mary scruple to organize congregations on a presbyterian basis, even though such congregations included men who had been bishops in Great Britain. During the first two decades of the Scottish Reformation, the Church of Scotland enjoyed a mixed polity, combining elements representative of episcopal and presbyteral authority in the Church, with good prospect under favorable conditions of further approximation to the Anglican position.

The prospects of this sort of development were wrecked, however, by the insistence of Thomas Cartwright and his followers on presbyterian polity, with the complete supersession of diocesan episcopacy and of the Book of Common Prayer. In Scotland, Andrew Melville, and at Geneva, Theodore Beza, personified a like opposition to epis-

copacy, albeit at Zurich the Anglican settlement found support from Bullinger and Gualter. Presbyterian order became firmly implanted in Scotland; and when James VI of Scotland became James I of England in 1603, he startled the Hampton Conference with his maxim, "No bishop, no king."

The "presbyterian aggression" produced a stronger apologetic for episcopacy in the next generation of Anglican divines. It was no longer sufficient to maintain that episcopacy was of apostolic authority and agreeable to the Word of God. Bishop Joseph Hall, Andrewes, Laud, Jeremy Taylor, and others were now pleading the divine right of episcopacy, and directly or indirectly, its dominical authority. Contemporaneous patristic studies, as well as the polemics of Romanists and Presbyterians, contributed to this development. Yet, even at this period, Anglican leaders generally stopped short of unchurching foreign reformed churches and questioning the validity of their ministry and sacraments. Prof. Sykes examines in detail the evidence that men who had received presbyterian orders on the continent, and (in one instance) in Scotland, were allowed, in the days preceding the Commonwealth, to hold English benefices without reordination. He also examines in detail the attempt to give the Scottish Church the episcopate in 1610, without reordaining those who were already in presbyterian orders, and with forms which the rigorist Bishop Wedderburn of Dunblane considered "short and deficient," although they were accepted as sufficient by contemporary English bishops.

The decision of the Westminster Assembly in 1643 to abolish episcopal polity and the Book of Common Prayer, root and branch, "instead of seeking the conversion of prelacy into a constitutional episcopacy attempered unto presbytery," and the straitened and imperiled status of Anglicanism through the Commonwealth period, produced an inevitable reaction at the Restoration. Not only were episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer reinstated in England and reimposed upon Scotland, but care was also taken, by revision of the Preface to the Ordinal, to close all former loopholes in respect to both ordination and subscription. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 marked the parting of the ways. Henceforth, no one not in episcopal orders could exercise the ministry of the Church of England.

Notwithstanding this new development, which treated the (Presbyterian) Church of Scotland as being "in a state of schism," anomalies and ambiguities continued in the Scottish Church until, at the Revolution of 1688, Scottish episcopacy identified itself with the Nonjurors and the lost cause of the Stuarts, and presbyterianism came finally into ascendancy.

Meantime, the Anglican insistence on episcopal ordination was understood with difficulty amongst the reformed churches on the continent, who questioned the differential treatment accorded Roman priests over Protestant presbyters. Prof. Sykes reviews in detail the failure of efforts, both in England and in Scotland, to effect the coalescence of episcopacy and presbytery, the survival of occasional conformity in spite of the breach and the abortiveness of the efforts of the principal

high churchmen of Queen Anne's reign to unite the Lutheran and Reformed Churches of Prussia on the basis of episcopacy and a German version of the Book of Common Prayer.

The extent of reciprocity in communion between Anglicans and Continental Protestants during the 18th century, the S. P. C. K's long-continued support of men in Lutheran orders as missionaries in India (brought to an end when Heber re-ordained three Lutheran clergymen in 1825), the diversities of opinion in Hanoverian England regarding ecclesiastical polity and the necessity of episcopacy, are all reviewed in detail.

"Giant Pope," the one chapter that deals with the Anglican attitude to the papacy, summarizes the arguments of Jewel, Hooker, and Laud against the Church of Rome, while recognizing that the Church of England was in fact and sentiment closer to the Church of Rome than any of the other churches which had renounced its obedience at the Reformation. Very interesting is the review of Santa Clara's detailed examination of the Articles of Religion, which anticipated Newman's *Tract XC* in finding them not incompatible with the decrees of the Council of Trent. Equally interesting is the early 18th century correspondence between Archbishop Wake and Drs. Du Pin and Girardin of the Sorbonne in the effort to find a basis of union between the Gallican and Anglican Churches. But when, in the next century, the Tractarians had created a new and more friendly atmosphere for the reconsideration of Anglo-Roman relations, the definition of the Immaculate Conception in 1854 and of Papal Infallibility in 1870 had widened the breach still further.

The Tractarians, indeed, had advanced beyond the Caroline divines in asserting an exclusive apostolical prerogative to episcopacy; but what Prof. Sykes calls the *Via Media* attitude, more truly characteristic of Anglicanism, is to be found in a strong and balanced quotation from F. D. Maurice. Amid his survey of the movements and controversies of the 19th and 20th centuries, the approaches to unity with both Rome (e.g., the Malines conversations) and the Protestant churches, and the actual achievement of intercommunion with the Old Catholics and the Church of Sweden and of friendly relations with the Eastern Orthodox, our author argues for what he calls "a moderate imparity," or constitutional episcopacy. Quoting Bishop Creighton to the effect that "the position of the Church of England is that it rests on an appeal to sound learning," and that "sound learning must always wear the appearance of a compromise between ignorance and plausible hypothesis," he argues that the Church has never insisted on any one theological or doctrinal theory of episcopacy, and has always held its historic continuance since the apostolic age as being of the *bene esse* or *plene esse* of the Church. He views with favor the Plan of Church Union in North India and Pakistan and the Proposed Scheme for Ceylon. He regrets the apparent change of tone between Lambeth 1930 and Lambeth 1948, as indicated by the reluctance of the latter to recommend immediate entrance into full communion with the Church of South India. Such reluctance, he feels, was based largely on ignor-

ance of the historical precedent of the relationship of the Church of England and the Church of Scotland between 1610 and 1638. He decries the dogmatism of those who try to ridicule *bene esse* and *plene esse* out of court. Like Dean Swift, he is sure that whether or not episcopacy be of divine right, "it is most agreeable to primitive institution, and fittest of all others for preserving order and purity." And he approves of Dr. Samuel Johnson's statement that "as it was an apostolical institution, . . . it is dangerous to be without it."

E. H. ECKEL.

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*St. Paul's in Its Glory: A Candid History of the Cathedral, 1831-1911.*  
By G. L. Prestige, D.D., Late Canon and Treasurer of St. Paul's.  
London, S.P.C.K., 1955. Pp. xix+262. \$4.50. American agent:  
The Macmillan Company.

This is the history of the transformation of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, from the status of a national monument conspicuous for "its vast emptiness and its encompassing dirt," to its appropriate status as "the parish church of the British Empire."

This transformation was affected by reforms originating not from without but from within, as the result of the vision and labor of a remarkable succession of able and consecrated men. The reforms involved the curbing and control by regulation of vested interests of long standing, the reorganization of the cathedral's endowments and finances, and the renovation and adornment of the cathedral fabric, both within and without. They included the reorganization of the choir and establishment of higher musical standards, the tightening of discipline to supersede slovenliness and irreverence, carefully planned liturgical enrichment, the opening of the crossing and nave to accommodate the growing throngs who were now frequenting the cathedral, not merely on special occasions (such as the funeral of the Duke of Wellington and the annual service of the charity schools of London) but also to hear the preaching of Liddon and the special musical services directed by Stainer, and to participate in the regular Sunday services. And last but not least, they included the extension of the pastoral ministry of the cathedral through guilds, classes, and devotional groups. All these revolutionary reforms were wrought during the eighty-year period between the installation of the brilliant and witty Sydney Smith to a canonry on October 2, 1831, and the death of Dean Robert Gregory on August 2, 1911. Dean Gregory's death marked indeed the end of an era which roughly coincided with the Victorian and Edwardian period, Gregory had been converted to the Church from Wesleyanism by



reading the *Tracts for the Times*; he had heard Newman's farewell sermon at Littlemore in 1843; he had been instituted to a canonry, December 21, 1868; he had been an active associate of Dean Church and Canons Lightfoot, Liddon, and Scott Holland during the golden era of the 1870's and '80's, when St. Paul's was in the heyday of its influence; and on the death of Dean Church, the "scholar-saint," in 1890, Gregory was the logical man to succeed him.

Canon Prestige writes with candor when dealing with the abuses and anachronisms which were reformed and with the clashing of personalities which accompanied and sometimes retarded the reforms. He writes with precision in describing the technicalities of organization and reorganization. And he writes with charm as he recreates, with anecdote, quotation, and human interest story, the varied personalities who appear on the stage during this eighty-year period. Deans Copleston, Mansel, Henry Hart Milman, Richard W. Church, and Robert Gregory; Canons Sydney Smith, Melvill, Lightfoot, Liddon, Stubbs, Scott Holland, and W. C. E. Newbolt; Archdeacons Hale and Claughton; the organists Goss and Stainer, Barham the minor canon (better known as the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*), Barff of the Choir School, Belli the precentor—all come to life in these pages—and in the background are the bishops of London from Blomfield to Winnington-Ingram, and the archbishops of Canterbury from Howley to Davidson. We are actually present at the funeral of the hero of Waterloo and at the great service which commemorated the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria. We are also present on certain other occasions when ultra-Protestant objectors and political Socialists interrupted the services with their demonstrations, and when thieves came to prey. The book's interest and value are enhanced by the illustrations which adorn its pages, and by an appendix containing hitherto unpublished letters of Sydney Smith.

Canon Prestige, better known as the biographer of Bishop Gore, as one of the great patristic authorities of this century, and as a one-time editor of the *Church Times*, was canon of St. Paul's only five short years before his death in 1955. He wrote this book, which appeared shortly after his death, as a labor of love, and it is appropriate that it should be introduced by a graceful Memoir from the pen of the present Dean of St. Paul's, Dr. W. R. Matthews. Your reviewer, who knew Leonard Prestige as an undergraduate at Oxford (*he* received his First in the Honour School of Theology in 1913, while *I* was lucky to receive a Second!), deems it a privilege to commend this final legacy of a distinguished scholar to our readers. In this country, *St. Paul's in Its Glory* is an importation of the Macmillan Company.

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*Hooker's Theology of Common Prayer.* The Fifth Book of the Polity Paraphrased and Expanded into a Commentary on the Prayer Book. By John S. Marshall. Sewanee: The University Press, 1956. Pages x, 186. \$4.00; paper edition, \$2.50.

In the 1841 Oxford edition of Hooker's great apology for Anglicanism, the fifth book, which constitutes the defense of the Prayer Book, comprises a volume of 610 pages. The diffuseness of the argument, the detailed refutations of opponents, the wealth of documentation, not to speak of the quaintness of the language, all tend to put off the modern reader from a careful perusal of what is still the classic exposition and vindication of the liturgical principles and usages of the Anglican Communion. Professor Marshall's aim in this volume is to provide a guide to the fifth book of the *Polity* that presents the basic principles of its argument, with selective illustrations of them drawn both from some of Hooker's sources and from more relevant issues of our own time.

For his method of presentation, Professor Marshall has taken his cue from Lane Cooper's treatment of Aristotle's *Poetics*. Direct quotation and summary paraphrase are neatly woven together in a smooth running exposition in modern English. The material is somewhat rearranged and outlined in seven major parts. A certain amount of material from the first book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* is utilized to provide basic philosophical perspective. The result is extraordinarily effective. We have nothing less than an up-to-date apology for the Book of Common Prayer, yet one that is faithful in all respects to Hooker's theology. This is, in itself, a tribute both to Professor Marshall's skill and artistry and to the enduring values of Hooker's apologetic.

Hooker's defense of the *via media* is aptly developed by the analogy of the fruit tree: without pruning, it produces nothing but leaves; but overmuch pruning kills the life of it altogether. Another cardinal principle of his answer to Puritan objection against the retention of so much of the older Latin rite can be summed up in Jeremy Collier's statement: "The abuse of a thing is no argument against the use of it." On pages 60-62, Professor Marshall has made an excellent expansion of Hooker's conception of growth and development in liturgical forms, making it applicable to present day problems of liturgical revision.

The argument for the use of liturgical forms is particularly acute. In this connection, Hooker's subordination of preaching to the reading of Scripture, as a communication of the Word of God, is significant, and doubtless illustrates as does nothing else the opposition of Anglican and Puritan principles. The pages on the apostolic ministry also have a special relevance for our own times. At no other place does Hooker show so well his essential moderation. Many may feel that he has not given enough force to the distinction of the episcopal and the presbyterial office; but they will not fail to appreciate the strong position taken respecting the authority of the ministry conferred by ordination. On the Eucharist, Professor Marshall omits much of Hooker's polemic against transubstantiation, and emphasizes the position that it is far

more important to contemplate *what* is the grace given in the sacrament than the manner of *how* it is given.

This book is an outstanding example of how old classics can be made to speak in contemporary accents to living issues of theology. And it also comes down heavily on the side of those, true to the best in our Anglican tradition, who insist that theology should be undergirded with a rational philosophy.

MASSEY H. SHEPHERD, JR.

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*By Faith Alone: The Life of Martin Luther.* By W. K. Kooiman; translated by Bertram Lee Woolf. New York, Philosophical Library, 1955. \$6.00.

First published in Amsterdam in 1953, the present volume is now available to English readers. It is a good biography of the great reformer, based on a thorough and sympathetic knowledge of Luther's own writings. It lacks something of the vigor of Roland Bainton's *Here I Stand*—which neither author nor publisher seems to have heard of. But it tells the whole story, and gives the reader a clear picture of Luther and his struggles, first for inward peace and then for the reform of the Church. It is unfortunate that the translator (page 128) renders "Ein' feste Burg" as "A Mighty Bastion"; most of us are more familiar with "A Mighty Fortress."

DuBOSE MURPHY.

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*A History of the London Missionary Society, 1895-1945.* By Norman Goodall. London, Oxford University Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 640. \$6.75.

The London Missionary Society (L.M.S.), founded in 1795, belongs to that group of voluntary societies which, though intimately related to their supporting Churches, remain finally autonomous. In Britain these include Anglican agencies like the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (S.P.G.) and the Church Missionary Society (C.M.S.), and others such as the Baptist Missionary Society. All of these differ from those missionary agencies which, while exercising a large degree of administrative freedom, are integral to the structure of their respective Churches.

Originally founded as "The Missionary Society," this agency was given its present title in 1818. Its incorporators had included in its constitution a declaration, as a "fundamental principle," that "its design is not to send Presbyterianism, Independency, Episcopacy, or any other form of Church Order and Government . . . but the glorious Gospel of the blessed God, to the heathen." Although interdenominational in origin, its program has been preponderantly supported by the Congregationalists of England and Wales. Yet a large proportion of its missionaries have been Scots, and it has received consistent support from Australia and New Zealand.

The first century of L.M.S. was ably portrayed by Richard Lovett in his *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, published at the turn of the century. The present volume deals with the Society's third half-century and makes no attempt to carry the narrative beyond 1945, except in the story of the Church of South India. While in a sense a continuation of Lovett's study, it can be read without reference to his two volumes.

This author faces a shorter but more difficult period than Lovett. "In most of the countries served by L.M.S. the pioneer period in missions . . . had reached, or was nearing, its close by 1895." During the next five decades, all missionary work became increasingly complex. The Boer War, World War I, World War II and the uneasy peace of the intervening years, all affected the far-flung program of L.M.S. Yet the total Christian community served by it rose from 136,000 at the close of its first century to 370,000 fifty years later. The ordained pastors in all fields rose from less than 400 in 1895 to more than 1,000 in 1945. The outstanding change, however, was that "within the countries and areas surveyed, the dominating factor in the Christian scene at the close of the story was not the foreign mission but the indigenous Church."

Throughout the volume, the frame of reference is the Society's endeavor to create Churches which would be "self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating," a familiar phrase which the author originally found "in a document issued in 1851 by the Church Missionary Society under the far-seeing leadership of Henry Fenn."

Dr. Goodall proceeds to sketch the fields of L.M.S. activity—India, China, South and Central Africa, and the South Seas—in a detailed narrative enriched by pertinent biographical material. His subsequent analyses of the Society's educational program and of its medical missions are penetrating and significant.

"The problem noted in connexion with the educational work of missions, resulting in the employment of non-Christian members of staffs, has become increasingly manifest in medical work also. And the dilemma has been heightened by the overwhelming pressure of professional claims upon those doctors and nurses whose calling and devotion have made them witnesses to the whole Gospel."

The three items of greatest current interest to general readers are the meticulous account of the evolution of the Church of South India, the treatment of the unresolved racial conflict in the Union of South Africa, and the discussion of the whole future of Christian education in mission fields.

Dr. Goodall, a Congregational minister, served as a foreign secretary of L.M.S. from 1936 to 1944, when he became one of the secretaries of the International Missionary Council. For the past year he has been secretary of the Joint Committee of the International Missionary Committee and the World Council of Churches. Hence he writes very much from inside the picture. While completely objective and frequently critical, he is thoroughly imbued with the independent spirit of L.M.S., "which, by its constitution, its main administrative tradition, and through the very individual genius of its best-known missionaries, favoured freedom and spontaneity rather than centralized direction and planning." When American readers note the author's solid confidence in "the Christological basis of the Society's existence and service," they should bear in mind a point carefully made by Dr. Kenneth Scott Latourette in his gracious foreword to the book:

"Theologically, in the fifty years covered by this volume, British Congregationalism tended to be more conservative than did the sister Congregationalism of the United States."

Here is a fine example of missionary history—scholarly, objective, dedicated, balanced. Some of the early chapters are oppressed with detail—"much of it domestic to the L.M.S."—but the persevering reader is well rewarded. The book is fortified with full appendices and an adequate index. The format is attractive, and the proofreading is amazingly well done.

C. RANKIN BARNES.

*Church Missions House,  
New York, N. Y.*



*The Old Testament Since the Reformation.* By Emil Kraeling. New York, Harper and Brothers, 1955. \$5.00.

The very name, the Old Testament, raises the problem which has been with the Christian faith from its very beginning. What is the relationship of the Old Testament to the New and, even more basically, what is its relationship with the Christian religion in its historical development? Professor Kraeling is concerned with tracing the answers given to these questions from the time of the Reformers until the present day.

At the very start, he points out, there is a fundamental cleavage between the Lutheran and the Reformed positions. For Luther, the authority of the Scriptures depended upon the extent to which they taught and treated of Christ. To Calvin, on the other hand, every part of the Bible is equal to every other in authority, and it was Calvin's viewpoint which prevailed. Yet in the later reaction, we can see the Lutheran leaven once more at work, and it is in Lutheran Germany that the critical forces are unleashed.

Anglicanism is mainly Calvinistic, but the Thirty Nine Articles show a mediating position. With Calvin, the Seventh Article holds that Christ speaks in the Old Testament, as well as in the New, offering eternal life. At the same time, it stands with Luther in denying the obligation of the Christian to follow the Old Testament cultic and civil law. Professor Kraeling points out that the Old Testament has exerted a greater influence upon English Protestantism than upon that on the continent. He finds the reason for this in nonconformist polemic. The dissenters were attracted to the Old Testament prophets because of their opposition to kings and priests, "a marvelous weapon for their own cause of freedom." However, save for a passing reference to Hobbes, Morgan and Warburton, this is all that he has to say about English biblical speculation during the first three post-Reformation centuries. His attention is concentrated on the German scene, and quite rightly, since during all this period we have hardly an English exegete worthy the name. Farrar had pointed this out in his 1883 Bampton Lectures, a book which for some reason Professor Kraeling does not mention, although he does refer to those delivered by Sanday ten years later.

English biblical criticism began a hundred years ago with the publication of *Essays and Reviews* in 1860. It took the heresy trials of Bishop Colenso, W. R. Smith, and in this country that of Briggs, to have the new critical approach accepted in England and America. All the significant publications in English during the past century are mentioned, beginning with Pusey and Newman. For the most part the treatment is cursory. For example, Hebert and Denton are discussed briefly, and S. A. Cook, Richardson and Pythian Adams are relegated to footnotes. Thorton is not mentioned.

Professor Kraeling's major concern, however, is with the four centuries of German opinion. He has given us a painstaking digest of all the significant contributions, not only of biblical scholars but of philosophers and theologians such as Kant, Schleiermacher, Ritschl and Troeltsch. Orthodox churchmen, pietists and rationalists are all carefully catalogued. For the most part, the treatment is objective, but there is an occasional paragraph in which the author's personal evaluation of the viewpoint under the discussion is given. The book has no bibliography, but each chapter is heavily documented, and there are very complete indices which make the book a first rate reference tool. Reference might have been made to the bibliographical article by Connolly C. Gamble in *Interpretation*, October 1953. Indeed, there might have been mention of this journal itself.

Anyone concerned with the recent developments in biblical interpretation will find in this book a historical background which is indispensable. The author's own position, briefly stated, is that there is room for both disciplines, the historical and the theological. "Only the peaceful rivalry of the productions themselves can demonstrate which is the most instructive, the most useful way of dealing with the Old Testament order."

CORWIN C. ROACH.

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*Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, edited by William Telfer. (Library of Christian Classics, Vol. IV). Philadelphia, Westminster Press, 1955. Pp. 466, \$5.00.

This volume of the library of Christian Classics, joins one of the best-known and one of the least-known patristic works, with admirable introductions and notes. From the *Catechetical Lectures* of Cyril of Jerusalem, Dr. Telfer gives extensive and representative selections. He does not include the "Mystagogical Lectures"—partly because he accepts Swaans' argument that they are not by Cyril, but by his successor, Bishop John; partly I suspect, because most readers have been so fascinated by the liturgical information they contain that they have ignored the valuable popular theology (and sidelights on Church life) of the other series. As for Nemesius of Emesa, he was a gentleman, scholar, and bishop, whose work *On the Nature of Man* is a neglected gem of ancient Christian humanism; it has not appeared in English since the first, and rather poor, version published in 1636.

E. R. HARDY.

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*The Letters of John of Salisbury: Volume I, The Early Letters (1153-1161)*, edited by W. J. Millor, S. J., and H. E. Butler, revised by C. N. L. Brooke (Nelson's Medieval Texts.) London, Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1955. Pp. lxxix-251-296. \$8.00.

The imposing career of Thomas Becket has thrown into the shade contemporary churchmen but for whose solid labors his protest and martyrdom might indeed have been ineffectual. Among them is John of Salisbury, humanist, diplomat, political philosopher, and churchman, a sound edition and translation of whose letters is being undertaken, in



the work of which this is the first volume, with two more to follow. The *Early Letters* were mostly written by John for Archbishop Theobald, and are thus important sources for his life and for the history of ecclesiastical administration at an important formative stage in the development of canon law. Theobald's life has at last been written (by Avrom Saltman), and with that volume and this, the quiet archbishop, who was Becket's early master and patron as well as John's, is at last receiving his due.

E. R. HARDY.



*The Mar Thoma Syrian Liturgy.* A Translation into English, by George Kuttickal Chacko. With a Foreword by Edward Nason West. New York, Morehouse-Gorham Co., 1956. 19 pages. \$1.00.

Very little is known by Western Christians of the Mar Thoma Church of India. Claiming apostolic foundation through the labors of the Apostle Thomas, the Church became Nestorian in the Middle Ages and used the Nestorian liturgy. Through the Portuguese influences stemming from Goa, the Church was united to Rome in 1599 at the Synod of Diampur; but by 1685 a large segment had seceded and joined in communion with the Jacobite Church of Syria, from which it derived the Jacobite liturgy of Syria, a descendent of the fifth century Greek liturgy of St. James. Since that time, further schisms have taken place, including one under the influence of Anglican missions in India in the 19th century. At the present time, it is estimated that there are some seven groups claiming to be the legitimate Mar Thoma Church: the Uniat group in communion with Rome, two Jacobite groups claiming to be "orthodox," a schismatic Jacobite group of Anyur, "reformed" Jacobites who call themselves "Thomas Christians," the Anglican group known as Anglo-Syrians, and finally a group that has renewed the ancient Nestorian traditions. (See F. Helier, *Urkirche und Ostkirche*, Munich, 1937, pp. 531-41.)

The present liturgy stems apparently from the "reformed" group. It belongs to the Jacobite family of Syrian liturgies of St. James. There are occasional marks of Roman influence (the *Orate Fratres*, the *Agnus Dei*). The rite is perfectly orthodox, and much of its prayer has a warmly evangelical tone. But, to Western tastes, the prayers tend to verbosity and lack consistency of form. Any proper evaluation of this rite must await the publication of a definite text and historical survey.

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*The Early Church: Studies in Early Church History and Theology.*

By Oscar Cullmann. Edited and translated by A. J. B. Higgins. Philadelphia, The Westminster Press, 1956. Pp. xii+215. \$4.50.

The Westminster Press has performed a notable service in making available to American students of Church history and theology these collected essays by the well-known German-Swiss scholar, Oscar Cullmann, professor of New Testament and Early Christianity at the University of Basel, and professor at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, Sorbonne, Paris. And Dr. A. J. B. Higgins, lecturer in the New Testament at the University of Leeds, has done an excellent job of translation from the original German and French, in which these essays were written for periodical publication. Prof. Cullmann himself dedicates the volume "in gratitude and friendship" to Dr. Floyd V. Filson, dean of McCormick Theological Seminary, who introduced Cullmann's important works on *Peter: Disciple, Apostle, Martyr* and *Christ and Time* to English-speaking readers.

In the opening essay on "The Necessity and Function of Higher Criticism," Prof. Cullmann acknowledges our indebtedness to the great critical scholars of the 19th century, defines the role of the higher criticism, and concludes that it must accompany exegesis from its beginning to its end.

An essay on "The Origin of Christmas" shows that Christians have never observed the Nativity of Christ on an historically accurate date, whether December 25th or January 6th, and that the supersession of the Epiphany date is to be explained as the result of Christological speculation. Constantine's intention to combine the worship of the sun with the worship of Christ was possible because the sun was a symbol of Christ; but the impulse to celebrate Christ's birthday on December 25th did not come from outside, but was a consequence of theological reflection on the fact that God became man in Jesus Christ and condescended to our estate.

"The Plurality of the Gospels as a Theological Problem in Antiquity" goes behind the efforts of Tatian and the Gnostics to replace the four Gospels with a single Gospel, points out the artificial nature of Irenaeus' reasons for the four Gospels, and concludes that the description of the Gospels as "the Gospel according to Matthew, Mark," etc., already current by the middle of the 2nd century, does justice to the fact that they represent "different witnesses to the one Gospel."

Perhaps the weightiest and most important essay in the book is the one on "The Tradition—the Exegetical, Historical, and Theological Problem." Here Prof. Cullmann continues his friendly debate with Père Daniélou on the relation of Scripture and Tradition. His argument is best summed up in his own words:

"By establishing the *principle* of a canon the Church recognized that *from that time* the tradition was no longer a criterion of truth. It drew a line under the apostolic tradition. It declared implicitly that from that time every subsequent tradition must

be submitted to the control of the apostolic tradition. That is, it declared: here is the tradition which *constituted* the Church, which forced itself upon it."

An essay on "The Kingship of Christ and the Church in the New Testament" brings out the various facets of the *Regnum Christi* and the relationship of the Church to the Kingdom as developed in the New Testament writings. Closely allied to this essay is one on "The Return of Christ," which can be summed up in its concluding sentence,

"Following the example of the Church of the New Testament we *preach* Christ *crucified in the past*, we *acknowledge* courageously that Christ is the *Kyrios* who now *reigns* hidden from our eyes, and we *pray* in truth to the Christ who *is to return*: Maranatha!"

"The Proleptic Deliverance of the Body" expounds the New Testament teaching that the Resurrection of our Lord has consequences for our bodies, which are subject here and now to the life-giving activity of the Holy Spirit through the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, albeit the transformation of the body into a spiritual body will only be possible when all things shall be created anew by the Spirit.

An interesting essay on "He Who Comes After Me" examines the Fourth Gospel for the light that it throws on the early controversy between the followers of Christ and the followers of John the Baptist. The Fourth Gospel and the Lucan writings are also drawn upon to throw light on the subject of the next essay, "Samaria and the Origins of the Christian Mission." And the concluding essay on "Early Christianity and Civilization" analyzes the New Testament and early Christian literature to determine to what extent primitive Christianity was world-renouncing and to what extent it was world-accepting.

These essays, in our judgment, represent German theological scholarship at its best. They are thoroughly critical, soundly evangelical, closely and painstakingly reasoned, reverent in their approach to the subjects discussed, irenic in manner—and withal, written in clear and lucid style. To this reviewer, at least, they have much of the flavor of the writings of our own Anglican scholar, Prof. Cuthbert H. Turner, earlier in this century.

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### III. Theology and Philosophy

*Man at Work in God's World.* Edited by George E. DeMille. New York, Longmans, 1956. Pp. xv+205. \$3.50.

Here we have the papers delivered at the Church and Work Congress held in Albany, New York, October 19-20, 1955, to commemorate the tenth anniversary of Dr. Frederick Lehrle Barry as Bishop of Albany. The Foreword is written by Bishop Wand of London; and Bishop Washburn of Newark contributes a Preface outlining the conception of the Congress and the procedure followed therein, with tribute to the remarkable spiritual impact which it made upon the participants.

The highlights of the volume are the two keynote addresses made by Dr. Arnold J. Toynbee on "Man at Work in the Light of History," and by Bishop Richard S. W. Emrich of Michigan on "The Church and Work."

Dr. Toynbee, the eminent English historian, expresses his belief that human beings were not conscious of work, in our sense, until the invention of agriculture some eight or ten thousand years ago—and even then they thought of it "not as work, but as religious rites," by which the divine powers were aided and appeased. He points up the irony of the subsequent degradation and exploitation of the peasantry, when agriculture was placed at the service of a new urban way of life which we call civilization. When work raises problems of social justice, the deconsecration of work marks a bad turn in human affairs, for "Man at work can be happy and spiritually healthy only if he feels that he is working in God's world for God's glory through doing what is God's will."

The Graeco-Roman attitude toward work was contemptuous from the very start, and resulted in the gradual supplanting of a free peasantry by slave labor. Dr. Toynbee analyzes the failure of the two efforts to reform the social trauma left behind by slavery—the first, under the two Gracchi in the 2nd century, B. C.; the second, and more enlightened, under the Antonines in the 2nd century of the Christian era.

Christianity started life free from the Graeco-Roman prejudice against the humbler kinds of work. The 6th century attempt of St. Benedict of Nursia to reconsecrate man's work was "the grain of mustard seed from which the great tree of Western civilization has sprung." In brilliant and fascinating manner, Professor Toynbee traces the gradual schism between the religious orders and the industries which they founded, resulting in the deconsecration of our modern industrial civilization. Since the Reformation, a second attempt to re-consecrate work has been made in Western Christendom. Toynbee calls it "the Puritan approach," applying the term to the Western middle class as a whole, regardless of denominational affiliation. But here again the driving force has been disconnected from its original religious motivation, and work has become an end in itself. Toynbee concludes that the demonic aspect of deconsecrated business activities, destructive and

calamitous as it is, necessitates yet a third attempt to reconsecrate man's work to God's service.

Bishop Emrich, in a brilliant presentation of "The Church and Work," insists that the Church cannot be on the side street of life, but must needs permeate the world and shape society in innumerable hidden ways. "The true life of devotion must always alternate between the altar and the world, enriching both." Only Christianity can give true and full meaning to life. "The privilege and dignity of work lies in man's relationship to God's purpose. Man is a co-worker with the Almighty." The worker is a person, not a hand, and finds in his work the medium for developing character. The dignity of work derives from the fact that it is the God-given means of serving our neighbors. In the Eucharist, the offering of the bread and wine represents all of nature and our work, and the offering of money represents our time, talents, and work. Work and worship are intertwined.

Recognizing that there is much that is wrong with the conditions of work in our society, Bishop Emrich boldly states his belief that "the greatest problems for millions of people is not their working conditions, but their own souls. How can we know the purpose of our work unless we know the purpose of our lives?" The brotherhood of work unites those in all stations of life. Our work is a Divine calling.

God's judgment rests not only on those who avoid work because they do not see its meaning, but also on those "work fanatics," who look upon work as an end in itself, thereby falling into idolatry. A second curse upon work comes from treating persons as things, hands, slaves, tools, appendages to a machine. A third curse is caused by the lack of fellowship.

But work also provides a great area in which we can witness to our faith. We must have no illusions about ourselves. The worst aspect of Communism is its awful self-righteousness. The Christian must be free from the illusion that in his work he can find the final meaning of life. Having a point of reference beyond this world, he can be a creative force in any society. In our work we find a means to fulfil our stewardship, and as followers of Christ we are called upon to sacrifice.

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., presents a short paper on "Religion and the United Nations," in which he tells what his work at the United Nations means to him "in terms of man fulfilling his obligation to work creatively for the welfare of the world." In a brief after-dinner speech, Walter ("Red") Barber, well known broadcaster of sports, characteristically illustrates with homely anecdote the relation between "Religion and Sports."

The remainder of the book is given over to Panel Papers, with a summary after each paper of the discussion which it evoked. Unequal as these papers are, your reviewer found them both interesting and revealing. Further comment would be invidious and would unduly lengthen this review. Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the U. S. Steel Corporation, chose as his topic, "Beyond Dollar Value," discussing our so-called free enterprise system. Davidson Taylor, vice-president of NBC in charge of public affairs, writes on "The Editor at Work in

God's World." Prof. Thomas S. K. Scott-Craig, of Dartmouth College, presents "The Ear, the Eye, and the Gospel" (he deals with the problems of pedagogy and makes an interesting critical comment on the Seabury Series). Dr. Edwin R. Van Kleeck, assistant commissioner of Education, State of New York, presents "Religion and Officialdom." Whitney North Seymour, of the New York Bar, speaks on "Religion and the Law." Dr. James H. Means on "The Doctor's Work and His God." Ellis Van Riper, labor union official, on "The Church and the Union." Daphne Hughes, executive director of the Youth Consultation Service, Diocese of Newark, on "Social Work and Religion." And the Rev. M. Moran Weston contributes a concluding summary, "New Horizons."

There are unfortunate typographical errors in the book. The letter *i* seems to have gone on strike at various points in Bishop Emrich's essay. Too bad. For in every other respect the book is attractive to the eye, and its contents are worthy of the occasion which brought them forth.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.



*Early Traditions About Jesus.* By James Franklin Bethune-Baker. Abridged and edited by W. Norman Pittenger. Greenwich, Conn. The Seabury Press. Pp. x+146. Paper, \$1.50.

The late Dr. Bethune-Baker was for many years Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at the University of Cambridge. The present reviewer gladly pays tribute to his *Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine*, first published in 1903, as still the best book in English covering doctrinal development down to the Council of Chalcedon.

Dr. Pittenger, editor of the present work (which was first published in 1929), writes a helpful introduction and provides an up-to-date bibliography after each of the several chapters. He orientates the reader by describing Bethune-Baker as one who "held firmly to the central affirmations of Christianity while at the same time maintaining that the tradition needed restatement in the light of contemporary knowledge and in the context of the present world view." He was never a "liberal Protestant," but was alike "Catholic," "Modernistic," and "radical" in his approach to the subject matter of these pages.

Starting out with a survey of the literary origin of the Synoptic Gospels (the Fourth Gospel being left out of account as not falling within the purview of the subject), Dr. Bethune-Baker discusses "The Life of Jesus as Set Forth in Mark and Q"; "The Way of Life and the Way of Teaching Chosen by Jesus"; "What Jesus Thought about God and the Kingdom of God"; "What Jesus Thought about the World

and Man's Place in It"; "The Sermon on the Mount"; "The Narrative of Miracles"; "The Crucifixion and the Resurrection"; and "Popular Opinion about Jesus in His Lifetime." Two appendices deal with "Stories of the Birth and Childhood of Jesus," and "The Church and the Sacraments."

In his chapter on miracles, Dr. Bethune-Baker would question the historicity of all the so-called "nature miracles," though finding in these stories "true pictures of what He (Christ) is still able to be to His disciples." In his treatment of the Resurrection, though allowing the reasonableness of the more conservative view based on the evidence of the empty tomb and the sublimation of the Resurrection body, our author leans toward a modified form of Keim's "telegram from heaven" theory, similar to Canon Streeter's in *Foundations*. There is no mention of the Ascension. Referring to the Virgin Birth as based upon a special intervention of divine activity, he states: "no one can affirm that miracle of this kind is impossible." But he himself then leans toward the position of those "who hold that it is not to the history but to the poetry of the Christian religion that these stories belong." In his discussion of what the disciples thought about Jesus, he dismisses Matthew's addition of the words "the Son of the living God" to St. Peter's confession as a phrase which (like the promise to Peter in the following verses) "belongs to a later stage of Christian thought." It would have been interesting to see how he would have treated Mt. 11:27, which, with its parallel passage Lk. 10:22, almost certainly comes from Q, and yet adumbrates the Christology of the Fourth Gospel.

Much in this little book is unexceptionable and thoroughly admirable. All of it can be stimulating to the clergy and to scholarly, critically-minded lay people. But to issue it in a cheap edition designed for the rank and file of our laity is a more questionable procedure. Our poor lay people are confused enough without being subjected to the speculations of a fine scholar who reflects so clearly the doctrinal schizophrenia exemplified in the *Report on Doctrine in the Church of England*, which appeared in 1938. We plead for more "milk for babes" from the Seabury Press.

E. H. ECKEL.

Trinity Church Rectory,  
Tulsa, Oklahoma.



*The Faith of the Apostles' Creed.* By James Franklin Bethune-Baker; abridged and edited by W. Norman Pittenger. Greenwich, Conn., The Seabury Press, 1955. Paper bound, \$1.00.

Dr. Bethune-Baker's book on the Creed, first published in 1918, became a recognized classic in its field, and was widely read in America as well as in England. Believing that it is still worthy of attention, Dr.



Pittenger has brought it out in a somewhat shorter form. He rightly points out that the Apostles' Creed is to be taken as a religious profession of faith rather than as a theological statement. This little volume should prove helpful to many readers.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*



*Rethinking the Christian Message.* By W. Norman Pittenger. Greenwich, Conn., The Seabury Press, 1956. \$3.25.

Some thirty years ago, I heard the late George Craig Stewart, destined to be the bishop of Chicago, say that the restatement of Christian truth was something like the exchange of currency at an international frontier; one must be sure to give full value, to convey the whole of the truth being restated, just as the honest banker must give all the pounds, shillings and pence to which the traveler was entitled by virtue of the dollars he offered for exchange.

The illustration came back to me quite vividly as I read the present volume, for Dr. Pittenger is indeed an honest banker and his rethinking, or restatement, of the Christian message is beyond question the most competent which I have yet read. He is fully aware of the present situation, whether philosophical or scientific, and he deals with essential problems with complete honesty. He also understands the vital heart of the Christian message and is aware of the pitfalls which beset the path of the theologian; for there are some things which do not belong in the Christian message and should not be allowed to confuse the issue. Dr. Pittenger has made a very helpful contribution to the important cause of Christian thinking, and his book deserves careful and widespread study. We may also be grateful to him for his clear and simple language and his beautiful style.

One very small objection may be raised: in two or three places in chapter two, he uses "affect" as a noun where I think he means "effect." The noun "affect" is a psychological term meaning "sensation" or "feeling."

The substance of the book was first used as a course of lectures at the School of the Prophets in San Francisco and later to the clergy of the diocese of Olympia.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*





*Natural Religion and Christian Theology.* By A. Victor Murray. New York, Harper and Brothers, pp. ix-168. Price \$3.50.

Dr. Murray, president of Chestnut College in Cambridge, England, was invited to deliver the Cole Lectures at Vanderbilt University in Tennessee in 1955. The book here reviewed contains these lectures, with some additional material.

It is the contention of the author that theology has for too long been dependent simply on metaphysical argument in its effort to arrive at a prolegomena for religion; he turns, instead, to anthropology and psychology, as these demonstrate the innate religious quality of man's experience.

The book includes a long and detailed study of Jung's theories of the "unconscious," with special attention to the religious symbolism upon which Jung and his followers dwell. One may wonder whether Jung's views are in fact so sympathetic to profound religion, with genuine ontological reference, as Dr. Murray appears to think. The latter part of the book is given to a discussion of the anthropological evidence, showing the universal nature of religious practice and experience. Here there can be little doubt that our author has made his point.

Generally speaking, this is a very useful book and will have a special value for those who fear that some of the newer sciences are of necessity leading us away from a religious interpretation of life. On the other hand, Dr. Murray does not appear to be aware of the fact that the metaphysical question has not been effectively put to one side by his discussion. On the contrary, after all that he says is conceded, it still remains a live question: are all these things true?

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*



*The Excellency of the Word.* By William H. Nes. New York, Morehouse-Gorham. 1956. Pp. 158. \$2.75.

This is in no sense a manual of homiletics, but a book on "the theology of preaching." Feeling that discussions of the art of preaching should be left to the classroom, the author digs deep into the foundations of Christian preaching. He is convinced that "a noble renaissance of Christian preaching" would demand "a renewed appreciation of the dignity of Christian eloquence, a just sense of its derivation from the excellency of the Divine Word, and a vivid recollection of the relation of the preacher's office to the true nature of the Christian ministry."

The book consists of four lectures delivered by the author as the George Craig Stewart Memorial Lectures in Preaching for 1954 at the Seabury-Western Theological Seminary, in which he is professor of homiletics. It is addressed, often in the second person, to the seminarians then present, but may be read, and re-read, with equal profit by priests 10, 20 or even 40 years out of divinity school.

Dr. Nes' opening lecture is on "the Preacher and the Bible," and in the others he often reverts to that same theme. He reminds his hearers that they cannot meet the current challenge unless they are, "in the highest sense of the words, Scripture preachers." "To speak with the voice of Scripture is something else entirely from a mere drenching of the sermon in Scriptural allusion or quotation." But genuine Scriptural preaching demands a constant study of the Bible, a veritable immersion in it, and an irreproachable integrity in handling it. "What you preach can be alive, contemporary, and a genuine communication of the Divine Word when it is *yours*."

Vividly conscious of the spiritual needs of lay listeners, Dr. Nes is suspicious of any lazy short cuts in preaching. He has no patience with muddy thinking, dubious theology or dull delivery. He speaks with depth, but also with directness. "The preacher must strive for description that really describes, for narrative that really tells a story, for language that is plain, vigorous, and vivid."

An appendix provides the revealing results of a survey of homiletics education conducted by Dr. Noah E. Fehl, a colleague of the author on the Seabury-Western faculty.

C. RANKIN BARNES.

*Church Missions House,  
New York, N. Y.*



*Responsibility.* By Sir Walter Moberly. Greenwich, Seabury Press. 62 pp. Price \$1.25.

This superb little book, cheaply priced because it is paperbound, contains Sir Walter Moberly's Riddell Lectures in the University of Durham. It is a sustained and informed discussion of the whole question of responsibility, as this is found in psychology, in law, and in the Christian understanding of man and his response to God.

When this reviewer first read the book, a year or so ago, in its English edition, he was so impressed that he wished that it could be made widely available in this country. Seabury Press must have heard the wish, for here it is! Every parson—and every lawyer and penologist, not to mention those interested in psychological problems involving freedom, guilt, etc.—should buy it, read it, mark it, digest its contents.

Sir Walter is insistent on the reality of human responsibility; he deals faithfully with theories which would negate it in the interests of psychological determinism, legal relativism, or Christian sentimental-

ity. Yet he is not content to leave it there, for he goes on to show how in the Christian idea of "grace," responsibility is not left behind but is taken up into response to God, by the "engraced" will of man.

The only possible criticism of the book—and this is in the nature of the case—is that it is very British. But *mutatis mutandis*—and surely the clergy at least should be able to make this necessary modification—it is equally applicable to our situation on this side of the water.

W. NORMAN PITTENGER.

*General Theological Seminary,  
New York City.*



*Religion in Action.* By Jerome Davis. New York, Philosophical Library, 1956. \$4.75.

There are a great many things wrong with the world as at present constituted. These range from the pollution of air in our cities, and the presence of harmful matter in our food, to the failure of capitalism to provide adequate distribution of wealth. Communism offers a false solution, and only in serious Christian action is there any hope for the future. This book is enriched by many useful quotations from a wide variety of sources and by many helpful prayers.

DuBOSE MURPHY.

*Christ Church,  
Tuscaloosa, Alabama.*



*This is Israel, Palestine: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow.* By Theodore Huebener and Carl Hermann Voss. New York, Philosophical Library, 1956. \$3.75.

Beginning with the call of the patriarch Abram from Ur of the Chaldees to the land of Canaan, the authors sketch the history of Palestine down to the present. The development of Zionism has gone forward under many leaders until at last a new nation came into being. The authors give brief sketches of such figures as Herzl and Weizmann, and describe the characteristic way of life which has developed in Israel. It is a partisan rather than an objective story; but possibly that cannot be helped when one's emotions are deeply involved.

DuBOSE MURPHY.



*A Treasury of the Cross.* By Madeleine S. Miller. New York, Harpers, 1956. Pp. 240. \$3.95.

From the title one might expect that this would be a book of private devotions. The dust cover announces that it deals with "Crosses of Christendom: their variant forms, their history, the stories behind them, their part in the devotion of the Church." Instead it is a sentimental book centering on a running account of the growth of the fine collection of crosses made by the author and her husband, the late J. Lane Miller. The title of the first chapter, "Our First Crosses," is very revealing.

The volume concludes with a summary of references to the cross in Holy Scripture, a list of hymns of the cross, and poems and sayings about the cross.

C. RANKIN BARNES.

*Church Missions House,*  
*New York, N. Y.*



*The Orthodox Catholic Faith.* By the Very Rev. Damian Krehel. Elmira, N. Y., 1953. Pp. 44. 75 cents.

This little paper-bound booklet, with the imprimatur of Metropolitan Leonty, Archbishop of New York and Primate of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church of North America, is written with the express purpose of expounding the Catholicity of the Orthodox Church to enable its adherents to resist the aggressive propaganda of Roman Catholicism. It is, as one might expect, uncompromising in its position that the Holy Eastern Orthodox Catholic and Apostolic Church is *de jure* the successor of the original Church of Christ on earth.

Anglican readers will appreciate the interesting summary of the development of the Papal claims as seen through Eastern eyes, and the concise and well-reasoned presentation of the psychological, racial, and cultural differences which resulted in the separation of the Churches of the East and West in A.D. 1054.

Equally interesting and useful is the treatment of the six purported dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church which the Orthodox reject as having no foundation in the Scriptures. They are (1) Papal Supremacy, (2) the Filioque, (3) the Immaculate Conception of St. Mary, (4) Indulgences, (5) Papal Infallibility, and (6) Purgatory. A careful study of this section of the booklet will be helpful to all who are concerned to promote the *rapprochement* of the two principal non-papal forms of Catholicism—Eastern Orthodoxy and Anglicanism.

E. H. ECKEL.

*Trinity Church Rectory,*  
*Tulsa, Oklahoma.*

*What They Believe.* By G. Edwin Covington. Philosophical Library, New York, 1956. \$4.50.

This book presents the replies to a questionnaire on religious beliefs gathered from groups of college students, along with the author's analysis of their import. Appendices give the distribution of respondents according to population of home community, religious denomination, and academic class. It would have been helpful to have information of the race, section of the country, amount of religious training in home or church, kind of college attended, and economic status of the students as well. In other words, this book gives the results of a questionnaire presumably taken from a limited group of students, without giving full details of their religious and social history. It can have little scientific validity as a representation of the religious beliefs of college students throughout the entire country at the present time.

In the analysis of answers, the author brings out certain obvious conclusions, such as the need for better religious education of our young people. The answers portray a surprising fundamentalism coupled with a rejection of orthodox beliefs, and the implications of this are hard to determine without more knowledge of the background of the students reporting. Many of the questions are posed either in language unfamiliar to the students or in a way which would lead to an "approved" answer. This makes it difficult to assess the true religious beliefs of the students.

There is still great need for a scientifically conducted questionnaire to determine the religious beliefs and practices of the college students of our time.

CLARENCE A. LAMBELET.

*Canterbury House,  
Rutgers University,  
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EDITED BY RICHARD G. SALOMON

IN CONNECTION with chapter seventeen of Nelson Burr's book,\* the perusal of the new edition of *The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States Considered* is strongly recommended. This controversial essay from the pen of William White, although it advanced proposals which subsequently were abandoned or modified, embodies the first draft of the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America as it exists today. Here we have the text of the original edition in modern dress and with critical notes, accompanied by a collection of letters opposing the pamphlet's Lockean theories and some statements by White in their defence. Now readily available to the public are several of the documents which went into the mill for the important study reviewed above.\* Professor Salomon performs a fine service in preparing this new edition of *The Case* and offering his informative introduction and notes to the text."

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\*This refers to Dr. Nelson R. Burr's, *The Anglican Church in New Jersey* (Church Historical Society Publication No. 40), which was reviewed in the same issue of the *Journal*.

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